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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

The Churches and a Just and Durable Peace

Complete Findings of the Delaware Conference

The Church Is Not at War!

An Editorial

Begin With the Kingdom!

By E. Stanley Jones

Crumbling Tariffs

By Oswald Garrison Villard

15 Cents a Copy • March 25, 1942 • Four Dollars a Year

In This Issue

E. Stanley Jones

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Oswald Garrison Villard

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Gracia D. Booth

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Erdmann Smith

is minister of the Austin Baptist Church, Chicago, and was formerly president of Ottawa University, Ottawa, Kansas.

Coming

Next week an editorial entitled, "Thoughts After Prayer Meeting," interpreting the eleven prayers offered for the utterance of Kagawa, Niemöller, the Archbishop of York and Tittle in their recent suppositious meeting in the Upper Room.

The Christian Century

March 25, 1942

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Entered as second-class matter February 28, 1902, at Chicago, Ill., under the act of March 3, 1879.

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Published weekly by the Christian Century Press, 407 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill.

$4.00 a year. Canadian postage, 52 cents extra; foreign postage, $1.56 extra

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Calendar of Coming Events

Mar. 23-Apr. 29. Third Rural Mission School, Scarritt College, Nashville, Tenn.
Mar. 27-28. Conference of Professors of Homiletics, University of Chicago.
Mar. 29. Palm Sunday.
Mar. 29. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Edward Tomlinson, speaker.
Mar. 29. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Douglas Steere, speaker.
Apr. 5. Easter.
Apr. 5. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; William Paton, speaker.
Apr. 6-11. Association for Childhood Education, Buffalo, N. Y.
Apr. 7, 8. United Stewardship Council, Chicago.
Apr. 12. China Relief Sunday.
Apr. 12. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Harold C. Phillips, speaker.
Apr. 13-15. Nebraska Ministers' Convocation, Lincoln.
Apr. 14. International Council and State Council Convocation, United Christian Education Advance, Centralia, Ill.
Apr. 15. United Christian Education Advance, Dayton, Ohio.
Apr. 15, 16. National Conference of Church Leaders, Virginia Union University, Richmond.
Apr. 15-17. Conference on the Christian World Order, Westminster Theological Seminary, Philadelphia.
Apr. 15-18. American Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation, New Orleans.
Apr. 16. United Christian Education Advance, Findlay, Ohio.
Apr. 16. United Christian Education Advance, Bloomington, Ill.
Apr. 16. Joint International and State Council Convocation on United Christian Education Advance, Bloomington, Ill.
Apr. 17. United Christian Education Advance, Akron, Ohio.
Apr. 17. United Christian Education Advance, DeKalb, Ill.
Apr. 17-19. Missouri Students Conference, Pin Oak Camp.
Apr. 18. United Christian Education Advance, Cambridge, O.
Apr. 19. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Boynton Merrill, speaker.
Apr. 22-26. Illinois Conference, Augustana Lutheran Synod, Bloomington.
Apr. 24-26. Indiana-Illinois Student Conference, Bloomington, Ill.
Apr. 25-May 2. National Boys' and Girls' Week.
Apr. 25, 26. Annual Presbyterian Student Conference, Montgomery, W. Va.
Apr. 27. United Christian Education Advance, New York city.
Apr. 28. United Christian Education Advance, Albany, N. Y.
Apr. 29. United Christian Education Advance, Syracuse, N. Y.
May 1-3. Annual Congress, Central States Cooperatives, Columbus, Ohio.
May 2-9. Pan-American Child Congress, Washington, D. C.
May 3-6. Institute for Education by Radio, Columbus, Ohio.
May 3-10. Christian Family Week.
May 4-10. Annual Missionary Education Institute, Indianapolis, Ind.
May 5-7. Annual Meeting, Associated Church Press, New York city.
May 10. Rural Life Sunday.
May 10. Mother's Day.
May 10. General Synod, Reformed Presbyterian Church, Sparta, Ill.
May 17. Citizenship Recognition Day.
May 21. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Milwaukee, Wis.
May 26-31. Northern Baptist Convention, Cleveland, O.
May 27. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Ohio.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY
Undenominational

VOLUME LIX CHICAGO, MARCH 25, 1942 NUMBER 12

EDITORIAL

WHEN the United States entered the war Hitler's speeches were cut off the air and cut down to brief snatches in the newspapers. That was a mistake. For the Hitler who is making speeches these days is not the Hitler with whose boastings and bombast the American people have been familiar.

Hitler on the Defensive

The führer's tone has changed. It is now by turns mournful, apologetic, impatient at the caprices of fate. Most of all, it is the tone of a man on the defensive. Twice within the last six weeks—on January 30 and again on March 15—Hitler has devoted major speeches to an attempt to explain to the German people why there has been no victory in Russia. No blame, he has assured them, attaches to the German army; still less to any failure of that "intuition" which made him depose von Brauchitsch and order a winter campaign. And the Russian army is hardly mentioned. But the winter, the coldest in 140 years, is held responsible for baffling an army which "fought battles and won victories which in the distant future will still stand as unique and glorious deeds." Of course Hitler is still promising ultimate victory. But the old note of utter self-confidence is lacking. And why not? When "intuition" has let him down, an infallible führer is in a bad way. Such speeches as these which Hitler has been making recently are the best news coming from any war zone these days. They should be spread broadcast, and their defeatism pointed out.

Lend-Lease Report Reveals Unpleasant Realities

LEST too much assurance be drawn from Hitler's mood of misgiving, the nation should ponder the warning implicit in the President's report on the first year's operations of the lend-lease program. It reveals how great is the difference between appropriating for war purposes and really turning out the goods by which the war is to be carried on, much less getting those goods to the spot where they are to be used. Mr. Roosevelt's report shows that $18,410,000,000 has been appropriated for lend-lease aid to 34 eligible nations. But he also has authority to transfer $29,596,650,000 in military and naval equipment to those same nations. So the total made available for lend-lease purposes in a single year is $48,006,650,000. "Some total!" as Mr. Churchill might say. But now comes the sad reality. Of this amount available only $12,272,000,000 had been so much as allocated by the end of February; contracts had been let for only $8,459,000,000; the actual amount spent had reached only $2,570,000,000; the actual exports were only $1,100,000,000. And of this billion dollars' worth of exports, only 29 per cent represented arms! All the rest was food and industrial materials. What this means is (1) that far less has been provided from the "arsenal of democracy" than the American people have believed, and (2) that there is a tremendous time-lag between voting appropriations in Congress and the arrival of goods at the front. The well informed *United States News* quotes an "official statement" as saying that "it's ten times harder to deliver a tank in Russia than to produce it." That is even more true when it comes to delivering tanks in China and perhaps in Australia. But it's at least ten times harder to produce a tank than it is to get Congress to vote an appropriation for it.

American Help Sought In All War Zones

MORE than a little shaken by the swift conquest of the Dutch empire, the United Nations are now trying to guess where the next blow will fall. As they brace for attacks which may come on any of a half-dozen fronts, a universal cry goes up for help from the United States. We have already commented on Russia's plea for an American force to establish a second front somewhere in Europe. That plea has now been made twice by Ambassador Litvinov in speeches delivered in New York. Another call came early this month from the Near East. From Cairo a dispatch obviously inspired at British headquarters sternly warned that "on Washington alone rests the fate of the Near East—eastern Africa and western Asia—in the opinion of responsible circles here." "Fall of the Near East," it continued, "is thus viewed in responsible circles here as an unparalleled disaster for the United

Nations' cause, and decision on the fate of the area is seen resting much more with the United States than with Britain." About the same time both Hawaii and Alaska began to express fear that they were not sufficiently protected against a pending attack. But the most insistent call has come from Prime Minister Curtin of Australia. In a broadcast specifically addressed over the heads of government to "the people of America," the Australian premier acknowledged that his commonwealth has given up hope of aid from Britain and must depend on America for protection. "You," he said, "must be our leader." Coupled with Mr. Curtin's appeal was another warning: "Australia is the last bastion between the west coast of America and the Japanese. If Australia goes the Americas are wide open. It is said that the Japanese will by-pass Australia, and that they can be met and routed in India. I say to you that the saving of Australia is the saving of America's west coast. If you believe anything to the contrary, then you delude yourselves." The American government went into this war with the comfortable idea that it could take another year or year and a half to build up our forces before striking. Now it is being told that it must save the situation immediately on all these widely separated fronts, or vital areas and opportunities will be irretrievably lost. The dispatch of General MacArthur to Australia is an initial response. But no one general, however able, can satisfy all these pleas for help.

The Search for a Winning American Strategy

PUBLIC OPINION in the United States is beginning to clamor for an offensive. Colonel Kernan's book is at the top of the popularity lists at the moment, largely because its title, *Defense Will Not Win the War,* expresses a growing conviction held by the mass of the American people. But simultaneous offensive operations in Europe, the Near or Middle East, Australia and perhaps Alaska are an impossibility. The United States is not ready for any such gigantic undertaking. We have neither the trained troops nor the equipment nor the necessary transportation. Least of all have we the transportation. Moreover, much as a shift to offensive warfare is desired, the public is coming to understand the danger of dispersion of effort. Too little is as fatal as too late. If an offensive were the only requirement, then the fighting in the Dutch East Indies would not have ended so disastrously. The fleet there carried the war to the invaders; the airmen performed individual prodigies. But because of the limited strength available, it was valor expended in vain. What appears to be needed is an almost immediate choice at Washington of some one area in which the United States can, by bringing all its available power to bear, score a real victory. The only other requirement is that this shall be an area in which a victory will have a decided effect on the total outcome of the war. Marginal operations are no good now; both Germany and Japan are too close to achieving positions which they can hold against all comers. The American public has no desire to dictate strategy to the administration. But it hopes soon to see clear signs that the administration has a strategy and that this consists of something more than the dispatch of feeble forces to any and every spot in both hemispheres from which a cry for help may go up.

Mr. Villard Hailed At Seventy

IT HAS BEEN a long time since we have seen such an impressive list of names as sponsored the dinner given for Oswald Garrison Villard in New York the other night. For Mr. Villard has reached the 70-year mark, and it seemed as though the journalistic, literary, political and humanitarian leaders of the country outdid themselves to honor him. For one who has lived so continuously amid the smoke of battle, there must have been a certain piquant satisfaction in discovering the esteem in which he is held by even the conservative press. "We have often disagreed with him," said the *New York Herald Tribune,* "but we have welcomed the vigor of his point of view and the skill with which he has upheld it." And the *New York Times,* after avowing its "admiration, respect and affection," went on to say that "Mr. Villard's intellectual rightness or wrongness at a given moment, such as 1916 or 1942, is for history to determine. What he has given us, for which we may be profoundly thankful, is the spectacle of a brave man who did and said what he thought was right without the least regard for his own selfish interests. We cannot run a democracy without such men, and there are never enough of them." The Christian Century is glad to print these words that other papers have said about Mr. Villard. It is even more glad to be the medium through which, in these critical days, Mr. Villard can speak for himself.

Sir Stafford Cripps Goes to India

THE WORLD does not yet know what Mr. Churchill's plan for enlisting the loyalty of India is. But Mr. Churchill declares that he has a plan, and Sir Stafford Cripps is presumably now on his way to India to lay it before the leaders of that country's factions. It is reasonable to believe that this plan must go very far toward granting India the independent government which its nationalists have been demanding. Otherwise Sir Stafford would have refused to have anything to do with it, much less stake his political life on an attempt to unite India in its acceptance. His mission to India must be reckoned one of the most courageous and difficult political embassies in modern history. No other man in England would have a chance to succeed. Sir Stafford's chances are none too rosy. Gandhi's comment on Mr. Churchill's announcement of the Cripps mission, that an agreement must be preceded by confession on Britain's part that her imperialism "has been the greatest crime against India," hardly presages easy negotiations, cryptic though it is with regard to the practical demands which the National Congress may put forward. And Jinnah's intransigent insistence on a separate Moslem state suggests that, if persisted in, Sir Stafford may find himself confronted with demands which go beyond anything he can have been

deputized to offer. The most hopeful factor in the situation is the recognition, which by this time must be as general among diehard Tories in London as among the British generals who are feverishly trying to throw up defenses along the Burma border, that time is of the essence. Whatever is to be done must be done quickly. If Britain and the Indian leaders cannot reach an agreement within a few days after Sir Stafford's arrival, they may never have another chance. For the hour is not far distant when both must deal with the Japanese army. That army does its negotiating at bayonet point.

Christian Faith and Left-Wing Leadership

WITH Sir Stafford Cripps playing so important a role on the world stage—and perhaps soon to play a role even larger—it is enlightening to discover the religious convictions which underlie his political course. "There must be a new intention and determination to carry into all the activities of our daily life the fundamental teachings of the New Testament," he said in an interview with the *Methodist Recorder* of London, reported in this country by Religious News Service. "That means that we must be prepared to accept all their implications for our social and political life." Any man who can talk about accepting all the implications of the fundamental teachings of the New Testament as a rule of daily life *and mean it* is an unusual brand of politician. "I feel strongly," Sir Stafford continued, "that we have got to have a moral background to our whole life. We have tended to divorce our religious and ethical values from our practical affairs. We try to live in two worlds. One is the world of our religion, our thought, our imagination; the other is what we call the 'real' world of politics and society and business. But we must learn to *do* as we *think*." When questioned about the contribution of the churches to the making of the post-war world he was equally positive: "If they will take the attitude of the Malvern resolutions and really implement them the churches will be playing an enormous part. But they must really implement them—not just use them as a screen for doing nothing." Malvern, our readers need hardly be reminded, based its proposals for the betterment of society after the war on rejection and abandonment of the profit motive. It said that in so many words, with none of the fear of a forthright phrase which watered down the economic proposals of the Delaware Conference in this country.

Norway's Bishops and the Vatican—A Contrast

PLAINLY the church in Norway has become the center and animating spirit of the determined passive resistance which that courageous nation is putting up against the nazi occupation. Latest reports state that all the Lutheran bishops have now followed the heroic Bishop Berggrav of Oslo in resigning their posts rather than submit to regulations promulgated by Quisling's minister of church and education. And out of fifteen hundred ministers of the state church, only eighteen are said to have thrown in their lot with the nazis. Just as the Confessional Church has proved to be nazism's most faithful critic inside Germany, and the Reformed Church has stood out against nazi anti-Semitic regulations in Holland, so now the Protestantism of Norway is providing the unyielding core around which Norway's believers in liberty and democracy can rally. In the light of this brave stand by the Norwegian bishops and clergy, it is the more distressing to learn that the United States has been forced to send an official protest to the Vatican against the establishment of diplomatic relations between Japan and the Holy See. What reasons the pope may have for accepting an ambassador from the Axis partner in the Far East, can only be a matter of speculation. But that any branch of the Christian church should choose this particular time to strengthen its ties with the ruthless fascist aggression which the Tokyo militarists have loosed on the Orient, will come as a shock to the democratic nations. When Mr. Roosevelt sent Myron C. Taylor to the Vatican on his ill-starred mission this paper, among others, tried to warn the President that he would eventually discover that the papacy has its own diplomatic aims which are not likely long to parallel those of the democratic states. Perhaps the protest which the state department dispatched to the papal secretariat on March 12 meant that the President has finally found that out.

Sir George Adam Smith Has Lived Till Now

THOSE whose memory of theological studies goes back into the nineties will be surprised not so much at the news of the death of George Adam Smith as at learning that he has lived until now. He was in his eighty-sixth year—a ripe age, though not remarkable—but he won such early and such wide recognition that his name seems now to belong to the history of scholarship. Trained at Edinburgh University and New College, at Tübingen and Leipzig, he entered the ministry of the Free Church of Scotland. Even before becoming professor of Old Testament in Free Church College at Glasgow, in 1892, at thirty-six, his two-volume *Isaiah* had become a monument of the new biblical scholarship. This was soon followed by his most famous work, the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. It is now forty-three years since he occupied the Lyman Beecher lectureship on preaching at Yale. Among his other writings was a life of his friend Henry Drummond. For twenty-five years, beginning in 1909, he was principal of Aberdeen University. He lectured widely and frequently at American universities. The substance of his addresses delivered in America after the First World War appeared in the volume, *Our Common Conscience*. He was also co-author (with John Buchan, the late Lord Tweedsmuir) of a history of *The Kirk of Scotland, 1560-1929*. He served as moderator of the United Free Church. Not many theological professors receive the honorific, though somewhat irrelevant, distinction of knighthood. He did. His full and official title and style, as given in the British *Who's Who*, is "The Very Reverend Sir George Adam Smith." Though the most memorable and creative part of his work was done

during the first half of a long life, students of today know him as one whose researches, while no more final than the work of exploratory scholarship in any large field can ever be, laid solid foundations which remain unshaken.

Mammon in the Vestry

A MINISTER in an eastern state with whose situation this paper is familiar has been forced to resign his pastorate because of his openly expressed sympathy with the cause of organized labor in a local industry in which the workers, hitherto unorganized, have been grossly exploited by ownership and management. It would serve no good purpose to name the man and the church. The case is closed, so far as he is concerned. He resigned, though still endorsed by a probable majority of the members, to save the church from the shame and injury of an acrimonious controversy. To localize the issue now would not promote the end for which this minister has sacrificed his own interests, giving up a pastorate which he has held for ten years and going forth with his family to seek a new field of service.

But if the nation is expected to learn something from Pearl Harbor—and not merely something about its enemy but also something about itself and its own weaknesses—then the church ought to be able to learn something and take warning from an episode in which one of its weaknesses is so painfully revealed.

One cannot listen to the radio for many consecutive minutes, or read half a dozen headlines in the papers, or note a single day's proceedings in Congress, without being forcibly reminded that, while the country's responsible leaders and the great majority of its citizens are girding themselves for a mighty effort for the common welfare, there are also those whose first concern is for the maintenance of their own financial advantage. There is that "ten per cent of chiselers" to which the President referred in his radio talk on the farm bureau program. Some of them are in the churches. They are likely to be vociferous in their patriotism and to breathe threatenings and slaughter against the nation's enemies across the seas, while guarding with jealous eye their own preferential position in the economic scheme. To the common techniques of the secular chiseler they add a watchful care that the church and the ministers shall support the bulwarks of their status.

Of course there are honest differences of opinion about these economic issues, as there have always been. The slaveholder at his best believed that slavery was good for the slave—as well as for himself. The feudal lord always believed that the order which gave him rank and dominion was a divinely ordained structure of society. The men who built great fortunes by exploiting the natural resources of this country, hiring labor at the lowest possible wage and selling their product at the highest possible price in a tariff-protected and sometimes in a monopoly-controlled market, were convinced that by the practice of this type of free enterprise they were the economic and industrial builders of the nation. In a sense, they were. "Divine-right Baer," a railroad president of a generation ago, expressed with inadvertent clarity a thought that was in many minds when he said that God had wisely placed the control of the country's wealth in the hands of a few that from the abundance of their profits there might filter down to the many so much of prosperity as would be good for them.

The honesty of these economic tories need not be impugned. Many of them were devout members of churches. Some of them thought that the laws of business, under which they got their great gains, operated on such a different level from the laws of God that any criticism of the former, or of anything that was done thereunder, in terms of the latter was irrelevant. Others held that the laws of business *were* laws of God. The churches themselves were chary of pronouncements on the subject through a long period. Such utterances as they did make tended to stress the sacred rights of property. Protestant statements deplored violence by workers and insisted (quite rightly) that any social changes in their interest should be by orderly and lawful means—but without making any very fruitful suggestions as to how such changes could be effected. Papal encyclicals denounced socialism and upheld differences of social class and fortune even while declaring the right of workers to organize. But many individual Christians, Protestant and Catholic, clerical and lay, advanced beyond these timid positions and gave their sympathy and support, not to violent or revolutionary measures, to be sure, but to active programs initiated by the underprivileged for the betterment of their own condition.

Thus the mind of the church became divided upon these issues. As socially liberal views gained prestige and popularity with the country at large, the public and formal pronouncements of the church in its larger units, made in the full glare of publicity, became more critical of the old feudal order. Individual leaders like Walter Rauschenbusch, Graham Taylor and Arthur Holt found many to applaud and not a few to follow them. But in large numbers of local congregations, dominated by prosperous laymen whose wealth and status were derived from the old system of ruthless domination and exploitation and whose commitment was wholly to that program, the minister is still expected to support the ethics of unethical business, or at least to be complacently silent and supinely inactive about it. Neither in the pulpit nor out of it must he speak the prophetic word, nor must he do the prophetic deed, at peril of his professional life.

This brings us back to the case in point, which is a very real and concrete one. The community, located in the northeastern quarter of the country, is one in whose economic life a single industry occupies a very large place. It is an industry employing many unskilled workers who, long unorganized, have received wages on the lowest possible subsistence level. Some of the owners, the beneficiaries of this subnormal wage rate, are prominent members of the congregation. Few if any of the workers are. The head and front of the minister's offending is that he took the part of the workers—not in the pulpit, so far as the evidence goes, but as a citizen of the community. When

a labor organizer was arraigned in court on ridiculous charges—such as trespass for calling on a worker whose residence was on company land, and driving tacks in a telephone pole to put up a notice of a meeting—the minister sat at his side in the courtroom as a demonstration of sympathy.

As usual, where the pocketbook is touched there is a certain camouflage of other pretended grounds of discontent which lend themselves better to the spreading of disaffection. Thus it is held that the preacher, though not critical of the war effort or of those who promote it, and distinctly sympathetic with those families which have given sons to the armed forces, has failed officially to bless the war from the pulpit. He refuses to call this war or any war a "holy war." This part of the charge, however, seems to be conversation and window-dressing. The central point is that the minister is interfering with "business," and thus with profits. He even helped to organize a cooperative, which saved a good deal of money for the poorer people who were its members but obviously took customers away from stores in which some of the prosperous were interested. (Queer how the exercise of a little initiative and independence by those who are not supposed to have any, say in starting a cooperative, is resented by those who clamor most loudly about the sacred right of free enterprise but have a little enterprise of their own to protect from competition.)

The preacher in this case, it should be remarked, is no half-baked radical or inexperienced enthusiast. He is a graduate of Union Seminary, has been a fellow at Harvard, has taught at home and abroad, and has been pastor of this church for ten years.

But the prominent layman with a financial ax to grind says he must go. Rather than be a party to a church quarrel, he goes. Perhaps he is right. The resignation of the minister in such a case is a part of the price which the church must pay for the maintenance of its own unity under a democratic regime and in a time of divergent opinions. He himself is paying a heavy price too, but the price that the church pays is higher.

A few weeks ago (December 24), in an editorial on "The Parish and the War," we were saying that in view of the diversity of views about war it is the duty of the minister to exercise restraint in the expression of his individual opinions and to maintain the substantial unity of the church. Especially should the minister resist the temptation to equate his personal views, whether conventional or innovating, with the imperishable gospel of Christ. "Whatever are his views on the war, he will hold them and utter them in the humble consciousness that the deliverance of his views on any particular application of the gospel is less important than to maintain the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace."

The economic issue is analogous to the issue of war. The two are alike in being topics on which Christians differ. If a church is to be as comprehensive and as united as a church ought to be, it cannot either explicitly or implicitly set up a creed by which correct opinions (however defined) on these matters shall be a test of fellowship. It does not appear that the minister in this unnamed town did that. He acted within the liberty which every self-respecting church accords to its minister and which every self-respecting minister assumes. And rather than give occasion for a breach of unity he is withdrawing from the scene. But on the other hand, the financial nabobs who have rallied a turbulent faction to get rid of a preacher who would not serve their purposes, have adopted a method which imperils the ultimate unity of the church as surely as it debases its present function. Preachers may come and preachers may go, but the church will not stand hitched to the post of their economic and industrial regime.

The Church Is Not at War!

WITHOUT abating in the slightest degree the enthusiasm we expressed last week for the constructive deliverances of the Conference of the Churches on a Just and Durable Peace, at Delaware, Ohio, a fair report of that gathering must frankly recognize that it displayed at one vital point a lack of courage which all too frequently characterizes modern churchmanship. We promised to consider this aspect of the conference this week. What might be called a failure of nerve was evidenced in the shrinking attitude of the leaders of that assembly when it was confronted with an opportunity to declare that the church is not at war.

A paragraph embodying this simple declaration had been adopted by the largest of the four sectional divisions of the conference. But when the sectional report was presented to the plenary session it was found that the steering committee had deleted this declaration, though the remainder of the paragraph stood substantially as adopted by the section. The reason given for its exclusion was that the declaration was outside the scope of the conference. A motion from the floor to reinstate the excluded sentence was declared out of order by the chairman of the plenary session. Thus, by parliamentary ruling, the conference was deprived of any opportunity to express itself on this fundamental question. The statement adopted by the section on the Church and World Peace was introduced by the editor of The Christian Century, revised in collaboration with Dr. John A. Mackay, president of Princeton Theological Seminary, and reintroduced in the section with their joint sponsorship. Its full text was as follows:

> We declare as the major premise of the church's responsibility in the present crisis that the Christian church, as such, is not at war. While we recognize the particular rights and responsibilities of the state in connection with the secular order, we reaffirm the Christian truth that the church in its essential nature is an ecumenical supranational body, separate from and independent of all states, including our own national state. The responsibilities of the church arising in the war situation and the service which it may render to the state derive, not from any claims which the state may make, but from the freedom and autonomy of the church itself under the Lord Jesus Christ who is its living Head.

It should be said in fairness to the steering committee, that its action in deleting the first sentence from the statement was taken under a general instruction from the conference to exercise its discretion in omitting from the

sectional documents any matter which it deemed beyond the scope of the conference. However, without questioning the parliamentary regularity of the committee's exclusion of this sentence, we are bound to take issue with its judgment.

The question is vital. Is a definition of the church's relation to the war relevant to its witness concerning a just and durable peace? We affirm that it is basic and determinative, and therefore was within the scope of the conference. If the church, as such, is at war, or supporting a state in the making of war, its witness for peace will be determined in large part by that fact. If, on the contrary, the church knows that it is not at war and forthrightly declares that it is not, its outlook on peace and the character and extent of its influence on behalf of its peace ideals will be determined in large part by the position which it thus defines for itself.

The denial to the conference of the right to express itself on this issue was, in our opinion, unwise and unwarranted. It was, moreover, inconsistent. Its inconsistency appears in the fact that the entire text of the statement quoted above was included, with only the deletion of this single sentence. But if the reader will examine the text, as it appears on page 392 of this issue, he will see that the part included is merely an exposition of the reason why the church is not at war: the church is ecumenical and supranational in its essential nature, separate from and independent of all states, and deriving its responsibilities from its own autonomy under Jesus Christ. Obviously, a church which so defines its position cannot be at war without stultifying its own inherent genius. To adopt the exposition (as the conference did) while suppressing the thesis thus expounded, left the conference with a sense that it had been denied the right to say clearly what in fact it said obscurely.

Whether the church is or is not at war, instead of being irrelevant to the church's peace efforts, is the true starting point for its study of the bases of a just and durable peace. In such a study, the primary step is to define the position in which the church stands. Only when this is done can it project its own peace ideals. Does it speak in terms of the existing political order? Does it speak as the champion and supporter of a particular state or states? Does it speak as a subservient organ of a particular state? Does it derive its witness for a just and durable peace from its involvement in one side of the war? Is the church itself at war? Those who would answer such questions in the affirmative should have been heard at Delaware. And those who would answer them in the negative should have been heard.

This was the most basic and crucial issue before the conference. Its suppression by parliamentary ruling robbed the conference of its right, its obligation and its unique opportunity to make a clarifying pronouncement of far-reaching and perhaps historic significance. Such a pronouncement would have explained to the world where the church stands and what kind of body it is. It would have explained to the state wherein the church can serve the state and wherein it cannot. It would have formulated the controlling principle in the church's work for a just and durable peace.

Moreover, a declaration that the church is not at war would have gone far to resolve the confusion which besets every local congregation in the land. The pressure of the war organization to take over or to enlist the church's resources behind the war effort, and even to encroach upon the services of worship, has had to be met with limping explanations by embarrassed pastors. Having no normative statement of the church's position to which they can point, it is difficult to get either their congregations or the government agencies to see why the local church should not wheel unreservedly into line behind the chariot of war.

The local churches, upon whom the Delaware Conference laid the major burden of carrying out its peace ideals, are thus left alone to deal with the public ignorance of the church's essential nature, and to bear the brunt of crass and often threatening demands which are thoroughly incompatible with the church's function. The Delaware Conference owed it to these hounded and hard-pressed churches and their pastors to clarify the position of the whole church, so that each local church could resist these encroachments in the assurance that it was not standing alone, but was acting representatively as a part of the entire Christian community.

It is difficult to believe that the committee's decision to prohibit any consideration of the church's relation to the war was motivated by a mere technicality. Why, then, was the conference denied the right to make a clarifying categorical declaration? It was not because the leaders of the conference or the preponderant opinion of the body dissented from the declaration as formulated. In the section where it arose and was adopted, most of those who opposed its adoption voiced their personal approval of the declaration. Even Dr. Mackay, who as a member of the steering committee voted to suppress the forthright declaration, had himself helped to frame the statement and gave his approval to its adoption by the section. Other members of the committee, including the chairman of the conference itself, privately explained that they agreed with the statement that the church is not at war.

Why then was the declaration suppressed by the committee? The collateral reasons given, in support of the technical one, were such as to warrant the inference that the technicality was resorted to as a parliamentary device in fear of certain consequences which might be incurred by the adoption of the declaration and even by the discussion of it. This fear, in our judgment, was discreditable to the leaders of the conference.

It took the form of apprehensiveness lest the public press would not understand and would misinterpret such a declaration. In formal discussion and in private conversation the conference leaders displayed an astonishing sensitiveness to what the press would say. For the conference to be allowed to declare that the church is not at war would, it was said, be taken by the secular press to mean that the church is against the nation's war effort. This would be bad for the church! Naturally, those who wished to commit the church to the support of the war, but who knew that they could secure only a small minority support, reinforced those who favored the declaration in principle, but were actuated by fear of the publicity.

The extent to which this fear obtained among the representatives of denominational and other church headquarters was a solemnizing discovery. Here was a superlative opportunity to declare to the world and to the church itself something vital and fundamental about the nature of the Christian church, to declare it not in terms of generalities which are understood only by theologians, but to illustrate it in terms of the church's relation to the war in a manner that would arrest the attention of every man. Yet the leaders of the church flinched in apprehension of the kind of publicity such a declaration would receive!

Which is better for our Christian faith, to have it disregarded by the secular world because we couch it in smooth generalities, or to have it misunderstood because we testify to it forthrightly? Which is better, that the Delaware Conference should be virtually ignored by the daily press (as proved to be the fact) and therefore by the great mass of the church itself, or that it should be recognized by the press as an event of such importance that a single statement out of line with the public's uninformed expectation lends itself to possible misinterpretation? Would such misinterpretation be the last word? Would not the arousal of public attention to the question of the relation of the church to the state and to the war present an ideal opportunity to define the ecumenical position of the Christian church so that all men could understand it, and especially the members of the church themselves?

How can a profound conception such as that of the independence, the freedom and the autonomy of the Christian church under the headship of Christ, hope to get itself understood without at first being misunderstood? And when is there a better time to get it understood than when so magnificent a test case arises as that which the church confronts in the presence of a great war? There is a cringing spirit in the church, a spirit of fear and supersensitiveness to public opinion which chokes the spirit of prophecy and of adventurous Christian faith. At many points the Delaware Conference exorcised this unworthy spirit, but in this most basic matter it yielded to it.

The second consideration which was hidden behind the parliamentary technicality was also born of fear. This was the fear of certain leaders that debate on the church's independence of the state as defined and illustrated by a declaration that the church is not at war, would seriously divide the conference. The only answer to this fear is that it was a sheer bugaboo. It is the same bugaboo that paternalistic ecclesiastics always conjure up when, for other reasons, they wish an issue to be evaded. A rough analysis of conference opinion shows that nothing but fear kept this question from receiving an overwhelming vote of approval.

Had the question, Is the church at war? been allowed to come to the floor of the plenary session, and had it received the courageous support of those leaders who affirmed publicly and privately that they approved it in principle, it would have swept the conference. These leaders were personally, for the most part, ardent supporters of the war. As such, they had the prestige and the ability to clarify the distinction between the position of the church, as church, and the position of its members who are also citizens of the state. They could have done this in such a manner as not only to carry the conference but to persuade and win the few who may have come to the conference under the illusion that the church was really at war.

We earnestly believe that the action of the committee kept the deepest conviction of the delegates from becoming articulate. That this was their deepest conviction the documents presented by the sections to the plenary conference bear evidence. With one exception, these documents were manifestly conceived throughout by minds which believed the church was not at war. Further proof was given by the full conference itself when it rejected the clause advocating cooperation for peace "with the United Nations," on the ground that its ambiguity left it open to the possible interpretation that the church was supporting the war. Moreover, the refusal of the conference to approve a statement issued by the Federal Council of Churches following our entrance into the war because it, too, was open to that same ambiguity, afforded additional evidence that the conference had come together in a mood to utter a prophetic and clarifying word on the church's relation to the war as the basis of its prophetic and courageous deliverances on a just and durable peace. By denying it the right to do this, the conference by so much fell short of the fulfillment of its high purpose.

Civitas Dei

WALLS cannot save the cities from their fate:
Fire, disease, the weight
Of arms. Babylon, Athens or Jerusalem—
London, New York will follow them.
Each city springs to its appointed hour,
Buds, blossoms like a flower,
But cannot stand or stay
When the dull autumn of decay
Arrives.

Only the city set upon a hill
Is tainted not with ill.
The gates of gold, the stairs of amethyst
Warp not with time, nor list
In any wind. The arches of untarnished glass
Tower above the centuries that pass,
Lay siege to all the stories made of stone;
The unbuilt city of our dream alone
Endures.

Love's perpendicular high wall
Becomes a rod by which the bastions fall
Which measure not, nor span,
The unguessed compass of the mind of man.
The river of life twists backward every street
That seeks to hold the feet
Of the star-wandering human race
That yet has found no final resting place
On earth.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Begin With the Kingdom!

VIII. How Shall the Christian Church Prepare for the New World Order?

By E. Stanley Jones

IN ORDER to prepare for the new world order the Christian church must have some starting point for its thinking and acting. Otherwise it will soon be lost in the relativisms of the hour. It is always safe to begin where Jesus began, and he began with the Kingdom of God. "Jesus went out preaching the gospel of the Kingdom of God."

I am amazed beyond words that so very few Christians seem to have any starting point from which they work out to the problems to be solved. Having no starting point, they therefore have no ending point and they get all tangled up in vicious circles. They begin with the problems, end with the problems and in the process become problems, both to themselves and to others. For a decade we have been saying, "Let the church be the church," and at the first test we abandon all that and take for all intents and purposes the slogan, "Let the church be the world, in order to save it."

In editorials in this journal dealing with the reasons for repudiating war, from both the pacifist and non-pacifist sides, the one reason which makes some of us repudiate war was left out entirely, namely, the revelation of God we find in Jesus Christ. That was not even mentioned. And yet that must be the starting point for the Christian, or else he ceases to be a Christian and becomes a relativist. He begins with relative evils, balances them, decides which is the lesser of the two and takes that one with a sigh, for he has introduced into the process somewhere along the line enough Christianity to make the whole thing "tragedy." It is tragedy. But the tragedy was in the beginning place, and hence it was bound to be tragedy in the ending place.

A 'Realism' Without Power

The church that abandons its positions at the first touch of crisis, merges itself in the surrounding spirit in the name of realism, will find that in the making of peace it won't have a look-in, for men of the world will cease to have respect for convictions which can be so easily abandoned, will brush them aside and will make peace on their own brand of hard, worldly realism. When it comes to realism of that type, they will furnish their own, for the necessarily tentative realisms of the church will seem to them too hesitant and soft.

Somebody has said, "The early church did not say, 'Look what the world has come to,' but, 'Look what has come to the world.'" It makes all the difference in the world as to where you start from, for that determines where you will come out and your spirit along the way.

While talking with the department of state regarding a settlement between Japan and America just before the outbreak of war, I said: "Why don't you work out from your own principles of democracy to the situation, instead of allowing the Japanese to determine your conduct? You say: 'If the Japanese do this, we will do this; if the Japanese do that, we'll do the other.' You are allowing the Japanese to determine your conduct. That whole process leads down to war. Begin with your own principles and you'll probably find a way out."

The church must have an order in mind in the light of which it envisages the new order. That order is obviously God's order—the Kingdom of God.

God's Plan is the Kingdom

When God made us, he had a plan and a purpose in mind. That plan and that purpose is the Kingdom of God. But the Kingdom of God is more than a plan and a purpose. It is a present fact. "Thine *is* the Kingdom." The Kingdom not merely will be. It *is*. We do not build the Kingdom. The Kingdom is "built from the foundation of the world." It is built into the constitution of reality. It is the way we are made individually and collectively to live. If we try to live some other way, the result is self-frustration. We can break ourselves upon this Kingdom. The Kingdom will work with us if we relate ourselves to it, obey its laws and take its redemptive powers. But it will work against us if we refuse it and take our own way.

Where is the Kingdom of God in this world mess? It is here working as self-frustration. This kind of world revolt against the Kingdom will result in this kind of world mess.

We are never told to build the Kingdom. We are told to "see," to "accept," to "enter," to "inherit," to "submit to," to "proclaim" the Kingdom, but never to build it. It is built. You don't build the force of gravity. You discover it. You relate yourself to it, submit to it and get its powers working with you—or else you get hurt. The same with the Kingdom. You discover it, see it, submit to it, and then its powers are behind you, in you and for you. If you don't, they will work against you and break you.

The Church is Not the Kingdom

We are told to build the church: "On this rock I will build my church." For the church is a relativism, related to something higher than itself from which it gets its ideals, its code, its right and power to live. The church exists as a means to the ends of the Kingdom, but is itself not an end. It contains the best life of the Kingdom, and in many cases is a closely approximating embodiment of that Kingdom. But the church is not the Kingdom. The Kingdom remains an absolute. The church at its best is a relative.

As the Kingdom confronts the church with an imperious demand to submit, to obey, to embody and to lay hold on its redemptive powers, so this absolute confronts all the relativisms of state, of race, of class, of family, of individual with the same imperious demand:

Repent, bend the knee, obey, realize and be redeemed. All of these relativisms discover in the Kingdom their way to live, for the Kingdom *is* their way to live. The Kingdom does not impose on life a set of moral codes. The laws of the Kingdom are written within us and into our relationships with each other. We obey them or perish.

Someone suggested that Hitler seemed haggard as though afflicted with a malignant disease, the implication being that God was smiting him with the disease for his sins. But the malignant disease that Hitler has is Hitler. "Nobody trusts me," he said wistfully to George Lansbury as he paced the floor. He himself is his own disease. He has to live with that kind of man and there is no escape. That is the Kingdom working as penalty. But it is working as self-frustration not only in Hitler. It is working in us all individually and collectively to the degree that we break it.

Christ is the Kingdom

But this Kingdom is not only written into the constitution of things. It is supremely revealed to us in the person of Christ. He identified himself with the Kingdom. He used synonymously, "for my sake" and "for the Kingdom's sake." He is the Kingdom personalized.

The Absolute Order and the Absolute Person coincide. He is the revelation of God and also the revelation of the Kingdom of God. He reveals God's character and also the character of God's reign. God redeems in terms of Christ and also rules in terms of Christ. There is no such thing as a throne and a cross—they are one. If God rules in terms of Christ, then that determines the instruments by which we bring in God's Kingdom. They must be Christ-like instruments, or else when you bring in the Kingdom, it won't be the Kingdom. It will be something else.

The church, therefore, starts with this Absolute Order and confronts all life with an absolute demand: submit, obey. Of course, the danger is that the church may regard its interpretation of that Kingdom as the Kingdom. That has been, and is, fatal. For this reason I posited the fact that the church is under the judgment of the Kingdom. As the church is under the judgment of the Kingdom, so its interpretations of the Kingdom must be under the judgments of the Kingdom. Our interpretations are not the Kingdom. They are more or less close approximations of the Kingdom, so should be always under the correction of the Kingdom. Our conceptions should therefore be growing. For the Kingdom is within time and beyond time; it is a gradualism and an apocalypticism; it is present, it is coming.

A Totalitarianism Which is Freedom

The church should have an absolute, a totalitarian order with which to confront all life. I say "totalitarian" for the Kingdom is totalitarian. God is not a half-god ruling over a half-realm. He is God, and his Kingdom is absolute and totalitarian. But since it is the way we are inherently made to live, when we obey it we find our own freedom. Here is a totalitarianism which is perfect freedom—the very thing for which mankind is blindly searching through these half-answers.

If the answer is made that we cannot begin with the Kingdom as interpreted, in Christ, for it is idealism and we must be realistic, my answer is that the Kingdom is realism, the only realism. Everything else breaks down except God's way. It is bound to by the very nature of reality. To look on the Kingdom of God as dangerous idealism is to run into dangerous skepticism—the only real skepticism. This skepticism has bitten like acid into the soul of the church.

The church must set up tensions between this new order and the present order and demand change, and demand change in the light of that new order. It must not set up itself as the point of tension, otherwise it will be confronting the relativisms of state, race, class, family and individual with another relativism—itself. To have power and confidence it must stand in a name not its own, in a power beyond itself and know that it confronts all life with an absolute.

But the essence of that Kingdom is not a hard absolutism; it is redemptive. Jesus proclaimed it not as the ubiquitous iron hand, but as "the good news of the Kingdom." Jesus in revealing the nature of reality revealed it as redemptive love. Paul sums up the nature of that good news as, "God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation." This defines the nature of the gospel and also defines the nature of the attitudes and work of those who accept it and live by it. Christians are people who carry on the reconciling work of God, reconciling man with God, man with man and man with himself. Our chief business as Christians is reconciliation. Reconciliation, mind you, not appeasement or compromise. In reconciliation you get each to change and come to a higher position beyond each—a position in which the truth of each is fulfilled and the wrong eliminated.

Role of the Church

I was at a luncheon of the Merchants and Manufacturers Association to which we were obviously invited in order to convert us and get the church behind the program of the industrialists. They asked me to open the discussion and I did so by saying: "If you have asked us here to convert the church to the program of your association, then I, for one, hope it will not happen. The Christian church must not be tied to the chariot wheels of industry. Nor must it commit itself to labor as such. It must be the unselfish friend of both, endeavoring to get both to change and come to a higher position beyond each, so that 'a new man' might arise 'so making peace.' The work of the church under these circumstances is to accomplish reconciliation on a higher level." This was rather a bombshell amid the purposes of the hour, but at the close the outstanding industrialist of the city arose and said, "The man from India is right. I hope the church will not commit itself to capital or to labor as such, but be the unselfish friend of both, to get both to change, for both of us need changing." The business of the church is to produce change on a higher level.

When we apply this to the war situation, the same thing holds good. The church should not merge itself into either side as such, but should endeavor to get each to change and to be reconciled on a higher level. Does that pre-

suppose that each side has something to change? It does. Seldom or never is there a war in which both sides have not something to change. Least of all this one. If the church merges itself into either side in this war, at the close it will have lost its right of mediation. It must be sufficiently free to be the conscience of the state.

That doesn't mean that the church is morally indifferent to issues; far from it. It means that it is so sensitive to moral issues and so open-eyed that it can even see the need of moral change among its own people when the rest have gone berserk through war hysteria and are looking for someone who becomes the devil and upon whom they can lay the whole blame. The church must remain an island of moral sanity amid the raging seas of war and hysteria.

I am not giving away confidences when I say that after my attempt to find a basis of reconciliation between China, Japan and America, the Japanese ambassador took my hand and said, "Thank you for what you are trying to do. Those who try to reconcile others are doing the work of heaven, for it is heaven's work to reconcile people." A non-Christian put his finger on the central work of the Christian—it is the Christian's work to reconcile, for that is the work of the Christian's God as expressed in the Christian's Savior, Christ.

The Ministry of Reconciliation

The church that undertakes the work of reconciliation will not find a primrose path. It will have to get used to the sight of its own blood, for it will get whacked from both sides. Both sides, with their messianic complexes, will resent any group that judges them both and tries to get them to change.

If the above is the general attitude and work of the church, how would this work out specifically? The church should specifically prepare for the new world order by the following:

1. By being a demonstration in itself of how men can hold together in spite of differences. Let the church not split over the war. If we believe in liberty of conscience we must believe in it sufficiently to give other people the liberty to disagree with us without dechristianizing them. We have a common loyalty to Christ though we differ in the interpretation of that loyalty. Let us hold together around that common loyalty, the fellowship unbroken. One of my very dear friends and I differ regarding the war, but at the close of a talk we flung our arms around each other and said, "The fellowship must not be broken." The church must hold within its bosom the conscientious objector and those who can conscientiously go to war—and hold them without disability. There must be no witch-hunting in the Christian church this time.

2. The church must not muzzle its pulpit in this crisis. The laymen must not overtly or covertly suggest what the pulpit should say and not say. Let the laymen say to the minister: "Go to your knees, pastor, and come to us with some sure word from God and we will prayerfully listen to your guidance, for we shall need it." A free America demands a free pulpit.

3. Let not the minister be in the inglorious business of keeping his head stuck in during this crisis, lest it get hurt. If he does, then at the close of the crisis when he puts his head out again there won't be an idea or conviction in that head worth listening to—it will be empty.

4. Let the church get hold of a simple principle native to itself and native to democracy and let it work out into the social order with that principle. That principle will obviously be, "Equality of opportunity." At the place of equality of opportunity, Christianity and democracy coincide. Both believe in it profoundly. It is the *esse* of democracy and the *bene esse* of Christianity. Here we can agree and work togther. We will insist on a post-war world of equality of opportunity. In doing so we will strike at the very root of the problem of war, for war usually grows out of inequality of opportunity.

Equality of Opportunity

This principle of equality of opportunity should work out into all life. First, it should begin with ourselves, making us give equal opportunity to those within our borders dispossessed by color or race or poverty. It should help us inspire and produce an order in which every child born in that order would have an equal opportunity to an adequate education, a meaningful job, to the respect of his fellows, to sickness benefits and old age security. Cooperatives, while not giving a complete answer to our economic problems, certainly tend toward a more equitable distribution of economic well-being, and should be encouraged. Second, it should throw open the door of equal opportunity to all to come to our shores. There should be limitation of immigration, but all nations and races should be on the same quota basis. Third, it should make available the raw materials of the world to all on the basis of equal opportunity. Fourth, it should make us redistribute the land space of the world so as to give those deprived of it an adequate opportunity. Fifth, it should end the system of nations dominating other nations and give freedom of national expression to all. Sixth, it should provide a federal union—an international framework in which equal opportunity and hence peace can operate between nations, just as our federal union has provided a framework in which peace can operate between our states. But this federal union should not be a federal union of Anglo-Saxons; in the original nucleus there should be representatives of all races. Seventh, it should make the American people share some billions of its material wealth with the war-impoverished people of the world to help in world reconstruction. To go all out to give equality of opportunity to all would be the real offensive of democracy—it would make the world safe for democracy, for it would make democracy safe for the world. It wouldn't be an imperialism masquerading as democracy.

5. Let the church be a demonstration in itself of the new order which it envisages. It, itself, should be a cameo of the Kingdom, the Kingdom in miniature. It should embody this new order so that if the old order goes to pieces around us we shall not decay with it, but be the seed plot of a new order.

If the doubt is expressed whether the church as a church will do this, then the case is not lost even if only small groups within the church do it. Those small groups can themselves be the demonstration centers of the new

order. It doesn't take many people to change a situation. A small, disciplined, determined minority can do it. Someone has said, "Five per cent of the people think, ten per cent think they think, and the rest of the people would rather die than think." That five per cent can do anything. A handful of people made Germany nazi and Italy fascist; in 1914 they said that if you could find two Communists in Paris (the home of communism) it would be a wonder, and if you found four it would be a miracle, and yet within five years the Communists had captured Russia and had challenged the world; less than a hundred people produced the Renaissance and less than a hundred produced the Reformation; less than ten people produced this American federal union.

Even if you couldn't get the whole church to be the demonstration and the agent of the new order, a small, disciplined and determined minority within the church could do it.

To do so they will have to have resources. These resources can be had through worship of and fellowship with a God whose nature is outgoing and redemptive.

This worship of and fellowship with this redemptive God should produce the kind of men who will not only bring in this new order but will sustain it after it is here. For the whole outer structure of life rests on character. If the character breaks, the confidence breaks; if the confidence breaks, the country breaks. The church should produce new men to bring in and sustain the new order.

The next article in this series will be by Harold Bosley, minister of the Mount Vernon Place Methodist Church, Baltimore, Maryland.

Crumbling Tariffs

By Oswald Garrison Villard

ON February 23 Sumner Welles, acting secretary of state, and Viscount Halifax, the British ambassador, signed an Anglo-American agreement governing the principles applying to mutual aid in the prosecution of the war against aggression and providing for economic relations of the two countries after the ending of the war. This is one of the most important documents in the long history of our relationship with the mother country, and it is of especial significance as giving another illustration of the way our tariffs are crumbling in the face of the war emergency.

Tariffs are a deliberate interference with the normal processes of trade and of the free exchange of goods between nations, and now when we and England and the dominions are in such a grave crisis, have pooled our national interests and are jointly fighting against our several enemies, these artificial barriers cannot be allowed to continue. It is an open secret that so far as the lend-lease transactions are concerned the governments of Canada, England and the United States, and probably others, have their blind eyes applied to exchanges of war materials. At least, that is the best information that I can obtain, and my informants have pointed out that if a show of legitimacy is desired the two countries could simply make bookkeeping entries to cover the tariff duties on both sides and let it go at that.

Barriers on the Canadian Border

There never was any sound reason whatsoever for tariffs between ourselves and Canada except that the flags that fly over the two countries are different. Actually the tariff barriers between the two countries have repeatedly been the occasion of serious friction. Thus, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's fight when prime minister to bring about low reciprocal tariffs split Canada, one camp openly charging that it was all a scheme to bring about American annexation of our northern neighbor. As a result, the proposal was defeated. Since then American manufacturers in increasing numbers have built Canadian branches and factories on the other side of the boundary in order to avoid the American tariff burden. They have wanted to have their cake, the American tariff, and to eat it, too. As Goldwin Smith, one of the greatest Canadians, wrote, if the Revolution had not taken place no one would suggest putting on tariffs. If we were to annex Canada no one would journey to Washington to demand the continuance of the tariff any more than would Massachusetts demand a tariff against California.

As for England, for generations it profited by the American tariff barriers. William E. Gladstone once said that so long as America crippled itself by its tariffs the manufacturers and shipowners of England could remain certain of their trade supremacy on land and on sea. After the First World War, however, the protectionists in Great Britain got the upper hand, with the result that international trade has been more and more hampered. This enormously intensified the economic crisis of 1929, if it did not produce it. The bankers of the world met in Scandinavia in 1926 and prophesied just what would come to pass, and did, three years later. They stressed the fact that normal trade intercourse between nations had been rendered practically impossible upon the Continent because all of the new states, as well as the old, had immediately surrounded their countries with tariff walls so high that there could be no adequate prosperity. Moreover, this condition of affairs made for increasing hostility and had a great deal to do with bringing on the Second World War. As Francis B. Sayre, now our governor general in the Philippines, said in urging the Hull reciprocity tariffs: "If goods do not cross boundaries armies will," and in Europe they did.

Any steps toward a return to normal trade intercourse must, therefore, be welcomed with profound gratitude. The new agreement just signed declares that "in the

final determination of the benefits to be provided to the United States of America by the government of the United Kingdom in return for aid furnished under the act of Congress of March 11, 1941 [the lend-lease law], the terms and conditions thereof shall be such as not to burden commerce between the two countries, but to promote mutually advantageous economic relations between them and the betterment of world-wide economic relations." It then specifies that those terms shall include provision for action by the two countries and "by all other countries of like minds" for the expansion by international and domestic measures of production, employment and exchange and consumption of goods "which are the material foundation of the liberty and welfare of all people." It then calls for the "elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers." This is a charter of liberty far more important than the provisions of the much touted and already nearly forgotten Atlantic Charter.

Will Congress Be Wise?

Of course the President of the United States cannot guarantee that our Congress will have the wisdom and the intelligence to ratify the policies thus agreed upon and to enact legislation to do away with the hindrances to free exchange of goods. Everything will depend upon the progress of the war. It can only be said that our bankers and our great exporters have been for years converted to the idea of free trade, and that if leaders can be found to carry on a campaign for tariff freedom, as Grover Cleveland when President campaigned for re-election in 1888 on the platform of a tariff for revenue only and not for protection, there will be tremendous support for it.

The danger will be that if the war goes badly and if its ending finds Europe completely wrecked and impoverished, the same old stupid cry that we must protect America from the products of pauper labor will be heard again in the land, only this time it may be called slave labor—whether Hitler wins or loses. We shall be told again that American labor cannot compete and that what is left by that time of our boasted high standard of American living will be further jeopardized by European or other competition.

The tragedy always is that our deluded public and many of our public men cannot see the simple truth that international trade is barter and exchange and only very rarely a cash transaction. There has never been money enough in the world since the rise of modern industry to put every international business transaction on a cash basis. However the transactions may be concealed, at bottom, if we sell goods abroad, we must take other goods or services in exchange. Of course there may be annual settlements in cash of the outstanding balance, and, as in the case of Finland, occasionally a government may pay its debts to another country by actual money. Nonetheless, it is the truth that if a lot of Japanese goods or German products come into this country it is because an amount of goods produced in America has gone to those countries. The quantity of goods may not be the same on both sides of the transaction, but the net value in terms of money is. Yet one hears wailing all the time about American markets being flooded with cheap Japanese umbrellas or cheap English cutlery or cheap Indian textiles, when the people who are so excited have not the imagination or knowledge to realize that the ships which brought these cheap goods over went home filled with American goods or raw materials.

Drop Canadian Tariffs Now!

Similarly we are constantly hearing the old argument that high priced and expert American labor cannot compete with cheap, underpaid labor. That has also never been true at any time in our history, especially as the United States has had the normal, natural, geographical protection of the two great oceans; any goods crossing those oceans must pay freight rates.

The truth is that nothing brings people together so rapidly as close and free trade relations. The larger the territory within a country the greater the area of free trade open to domestic business. Now that we are tied up so closely with Canada, nothing could help more with the joint defense effort than to abolish the tariffs altogether and to let Americans and Canadians and their goods cross the boundary as freely as if they were going from one member of the United States to another. The world is desperately ill from mad nationalism and from the desire of so many countries to be self-contained in case of war. Anything that lowers our tariffs against our present allies, now or after the war, can be only an unmitigated blessing and give the soundest possible foundation for the continuance of the mutual alliances now fighting to defeat the dictators.

Tariffs Rob the People!

Unfortunately men learn in these matters extremely slowly—in America partly because Alfred E. Smith and Franklin D. Roosevelt both betrayed the historic low tariff policy of their party and deliberately sanctioned the taking over of Republican protectionist doctrines, another instance of the old game of stealing the other fellow's clothes. Hence we have had no other such illuminating and highly educative campaign as Grover Cleveland's in 1888. Our working people have continued to believe that they were safeguarded by the tariffs when the fallacy of this theory has been shown ten thousand times. They have not understood that many of our greatest American fortunes were built up by this partnership between the government and the rich manufacturer under which the government of the United States by law raised the prices on domestic goods to just the extent desired by the manufacturers in search of huge profits. Never has the government asked whether its protective beneficiaries were efficient in the conduct of their businesses, or honest, or up-to-date in their processes. Usually the Republicans have sold tariff favors to the highest bidder; the rich contributor to the party funds was allowed to call the tune. The last tariff was the worst, the Hawley-Smoot outrage, which President Hoover signed in the face of the protest of more than one thousand economists, financial experts, liberal business men and college teachers.

Nothing I am sure will worry the dictators more if the

war ends in their victory or a stalemate than tariff union between the United Nations. Hitler knows that the tremendous rise of Germany in economic power and strength came not with the creation of the German empire in 1870, but as a result of the gradual wiping out of the tariff barriers between the many little German states, which process began in the 1820's. Great Britain is accepting our bombers, our wheat, our iron, our ores, our manufactured products of innumerable kinds with gratitude and without asking what effect it will have upon the future of British industry. She says that she must have them or perish. I am inclined to think that the Englishman will be ready to live up to the letter of this new Anglo-American economic pact. My concern is the United States, so long has this country been indoctrinated with the utter fallacy of the protection theory.

You Can't Blackout the Stars

By Gracia D. Booth

SOME WEEKS AGO in a dark little fisherman's shack on Terminal island in Los Angeles harbor I saw a great light shining and my own faith was rekindled in the strength and warmth of its glow. War had come and one of the first places visited by the FBI was Terminal island in "Fish Harbor" at Los Angeles. Here was the center of the San Pedro fish canning industry and the home of more than three thousand Japanese people, both *Issei* (Japanese-born) and *Nisei* (American-born of Japanese parentage). Most of these people were fishermen. With their families they depended on fishing and the fish-canning industry for their livelihood.

After December 7 some five hundred of these fishermen were forbidden to exercise any fishing privileges whatsoever and so were forced to be idle. About one hundred and fifty of them were United States citizens of Japanese origin, or *Nisei,* but when these were allowed to resume their fishing they were practically helpless without the *Issei* "mast-men" who, from high up on the masts of the fishing boats, spotted the schools of fish and indicated when and where the nets should be lowered for a catch. To become an expert mast-man takes years of experience and training. Once these "old salts," most of whom would be citizens had our laws allowed, were forbidden to go out in the fishing boats, that industry was doomed for the Japanese colony. Even the supplementary earnings of the girls and women in the canneries were greatly reduced because of the refusal of the Filipinos, large numbers of whom also work in the canneries, to continue to work alongside the Japanese.

So from the first day of war, a tragic situation had existed among the fisher folk of Terminal island, which had been made more tragic by constant fear of a sudden order to evacuate their homes because of their proximity to the shipyards and naval base. Here, in row upon row of tiny, dingy, company-owned houses, exactly alike, inside and out, I visited among them early in January. Shabby and dark and small as the houses were, there was pathetic evidence of a valiant effort to make of them a home. Every inch of soil in front of and between each wee dwelling was crowded full of sickly flowers and shrubs which usually grow so luxuriantly in southern California, with even an occasional gold-fish pond. Slum though it might be, still it was "home"!

As we started back to our car, after a half-day's visit, an old Christian *Issei* mast-man, who had been following us about all the morning, suddenly came up and urged us to come into his little house and meet his wife. Inside it was so dark that at first we could hardly see. Then the thing I noticed, immediately, was that the walls were almost covered with religious mottoes and pictures and prints of a biblical nature—he was a "pillar" of the local Japanese church. Over the doors I saw "God Bless Our Home" and "God Is Love" in Japanese characters and, on a huge square of white muslin also in Japanese characters, "Faith, Hope and Love—Kagawa." On a side wall there hung copies of "On the Road to Emmaus," "The Last Supper," "Jesus Blessing Little Children" and "Christ in the Temple with the Doctors."

Conspicuous on another wall was the picture we all know so well—the familiar old scene of the sheep, lost in a blinding snowstorm, huddled together, beaten and terrified, all sense of direction lost.

Turning to my compahion, with the tears running down my cheeks, I exclaimed: "Look! There the Japanese people are, in exactly that situation—lost and not knowing which way to turn!"

But shaking his gray head vigorously, the old fisherman quickly turned and pointed to a tiny picture which we had overlooked hanging on a wall near the small window looking out over the harbor and the idle fishing craft —a picture of Jesus sitting on the edge of an upturned fishing boat in the midst of a group of fishermen who mended their nets as they listened. With eyes alight and face all aglow, he simply said: "Here we are!"

Our old mast-man is now in Fort Missoula. His house is empty and still, the walls are bare. The little picture he loved is wrapped and stored away in a dark corner of a Quaker hostel where his family has found temporary shelter following the sudden and complete evacuation of Terminal island. But although his home may be "in storage" for the duration, his faith is not, for with old eyes still alight, he smilingly says: "What we do? I do not know but we are not afraid, for we are Christians."

II

Near a Japanese fruit and vegetable market in suburban Los Angeles there lives an American mother through whom the Christ-spirit has been released upon her small corner of a suffering world. For many years she has pur-

chased all her fruits and vegetables from the little Japanese woman there. Their two small boys played together, started to school together and grew up as fast friends as their mothers came to be.

After the war broke out in December, the Japanese father was among the first to be apprehended and interned. The Japanese-American lad worked on a farm and the white American lad joined the United States navy and the two lonely mothers were drawn still closer together. Living in constant fear of evacuation, the Japanese woman shared all her anxiety with her American friend who did her best to comfort and advise.

Returning home from the market one day soon after war began, she was met at her door with a telegram, advising her of the death of her only son. He had been killed at Pearl Harbor. Within the hour, putting her own terrible grief aside as she remembered her Japanese friend, who also had loved the dead lad, she returned to the market to break the news gently before it came out in the papers.

Taking her sobbing little yellow-faced "enemy alien" friend into her suddenly empty arms that had first cradled the sailor boy who was gone forever, she said: "Oh! my dear, I could not wait to tell you that you are in no way to blame nor are your people. War killed our boy as it will kill many of your Japanese boys and neither you nor I can help it. I still love you as I always have and need you more than ever. For always I am your friend and you are mine no matter what our governments may do."

And there among the lowly cabbages and carrots, the apples and the oranges, in a busy street half a world away from Bethlehem, the Christ was born anew and another shining star arose to guide men and reassure them on their way.

> When our children's children shall think of war
> As a madness that may not be,
> When we thank our God for our grief today
> And blazon from sea to sea,
> In the name of our dead, the banner of Love,
> That will be Victory!

III

Away down below San Pedro on the high bluffs above the sea stretch acres upon acres of truck farms and gardens where Japanese raise so much of the farm and vegetable produce we have been able to buy every day in the open markets. Here in the midst of her heart-rending task of breaking up the home where she had lived for fourteen years, a dear old *Issei* grandmother stopped to serve us fragrant Japanese tea in delicate Japanese cups and to unburden her bewildered mind and aching heart one sunny afternoon not long ago.

Side by side we sat in her spotless little parlor beneath the picture of Abraham Lincoln, who "dedicated his life to the proposition that all men are created free and equal" and died upholding that faith. On the opposite wall hung a picture of Franklin D. Roosevelt directly facing him, as if seeking guidance from the Great Emancipator.

About us were boxes and crates of household goods and behind the door, piled high, were bags and bags of rice—the staple food of every Japanese family. Outside the wide-open window in the glorious sunshine stretched miles of tender young beans and squashes, lettuce and celery, peas and potatoes, onions and radishes in beautifully straight rows with not a weed to be seen—veritably, the salad bowl of lower California! And on the breeze there came to us, above the pounding of the restless sea, the singing of the birds and the happy voices of her American-born grandchildren at play beneath the window, utterly unconscious of the tragedy that was uprooting their parents and grandparents.

"I hurt so in me here," she kept repeating as she pressed her tiny old work-worn hands against her troubled breast. "All time I hurt and hurt me so, all day, all night, all time. My man they take away, we don't know why—policemen they not tell why. I miss him but I not worry too bad for I sure government be good with us. He write they make good care for him there in that camp, so he all right. But in house next door here they take away young father—just take him away. The little mother she has boy eighteen month old and new baby four-five day old when father go. She in the bed so she stay all alone in house all time and all she can do all day, all night is just to sit and make the cry—it hurt her so!

"Morning I hear her cry; all day she cry; all night when I not sleep I hear the very bad cry—she so afraid with two baby now and man gone away. I hurt but her hurt is more, so in the night I go to her and all the day I go and I talk and talk to dry the tear. Not much dry but she know I know she hurt.

"We know government treat us good but—I hurt so in me here!" softly beating her breast. "Here my house, my home. My man and me we make it since fourteen year ago. That makes for loving it and here we belong" —breaking into gentle sobs. "Now who tell us where we go from here? We so afraid."

Moved by an impulse irresistible, I gathered her shaking little body into my arms and held the troubled old white head against my breast. All I could think of to say, as my tears mingled with her own, was: "There, there, mother!" And the burden of her suffering was laid upon my younger, stronger shoulders by him who said so long ago: "And who is my mother—?"

IV

At different times since the seventh of December most of the men had been taken from Terminal island leaving, mostly, younger boys and girls and children. About the middle of February those who still remained, about fifteen hundred souls, received notice to evacuate within thirty days. As they looked about to find new jobs and places to live, there came like a bolt out of the blue the sudden order to evacuate within forty-eight hours. Bewildered at this unexpected turn of events they knew not what to do.

In the meantime temporary hostels had been arranged, in anticipation of just such an order, by the American Friends Service Committee on the west coast and so this tragic twentieth century exodus was made easier because of the interest and sympathy shown by Caucasians. The hostels were ready and into their open doors flocked the homeless aliens and their American-born children—

United States citizens now refugees in their own native land!

Truck after truck was loaded hastily with furniture and dishes, clothes and bedding, food, schoolbooks and house plants—everything that goes to furnish a home, and huddled high on top of almost every load sat wide-eyed, silent children and young men and women facing the uncharted future and the making of a new home and a new life, God alone knew how or where!

As night of the second day drew on and the deadline drew ever nearer, little groups still toiled feverishly in the narrow paths between the tiny houses in an effort to load and move the last tag-ends of all the broken homes before midnight. Unable to carry flashlights, which are contraband, these harried, worn-out aliens would have been helpless indeed had it not been for the cooperation of many young Caucasian men and women who rallied to their aid in this catastrophe.

The little houses were dark and empty, the electric current having been shut off, and there was no light by which to finish their task. But all through the island community, wherever a group of Japanese worked hurriedly in an earnest effort to cooperate with the authorities by getting out in the time allotted them, there, also, were a group of Caucasian friends, holding flashlights for hours —thus lightening their task and, perhaps, lighting up the way into the unknown new life by this thoughtful and friendly service.

In this area of vital defense, as a necessary precaution against an enemy air raid, no lights shone from factories, homes or ships—all was in total darkness. But, looking upward now and again, one could always pick out the same sure stars in their same sure places and thus be strangely reassured. Suddenly, out of the darkness a young voice said, "Well, at least you can't blackout the stars!"

As I turned my eyes again earthward and to the task at hand, and saw the tiny gleams of many flashlights here and there throughout the whole deserted little village, held firmly and steadily in the hand of a friend who longed to help, I said to myself, with a new upsurging of hope for these courageous people, toiling away in the light from a neighbor's "lamp," "No, thank God! You can't blackout the stars!"

BOOKS

Theology and the Social Order

THE THEOLOGY OF POLITICS. *By Nathaniel Micklem. Oxford University Press, $2.50.*

NOT a theological treatise, according to the author, this book "surveys the intermediate country between theology and politics, and it enforces the truth that, for better or for worse, our political philosophy, explicitly or implicitly, rests upon our theology. . . . All political problems are at bottom theological. No political theory is likely to affect deeply the conduct or outlook of man unless it be reinforced by the sanctions of religion."

The author's main attack is upon the theology underlying Marxist communism and nazi racialism. It is, he says, difficult to appraise what is happening in the souls of the Russian people. "Russia stands in the public eye for militant atheism, for the destruction of European culture, for ruthless tyranny over soul and body. Even those who welcomed the revolution with most hope and sympathy are deeply disillusioned. But a merely negative attitude of revulsion or hatred is insufficient. The pre-war social and economic order of the democracies is not an answer to bolshevism, but almost an excuse for it. Karl Marx's analysis of our economic ills remains; the Russian experiment may have been disastrous, but capitalistic individualism stands condemned. We must offer a better solution than that of the Russian soviets, and we shall need sacrifice and devotion not less than that which overthrew the old regime of the tsars and in a generation changed the face of Russia." Marxist materialism has a wrong and bad doctrine of man. It is inhuman. Basically this is due to a view which has no God and consequently a view of man which makes him secondary and subordinate to the state.

While the soviet government of Russia stands for a materialist conception of history, the German government stands for a racial conception. At all costs, it holds, the German stock must be kept pure so that it may fulfill its destiny to inspire and rule the world. German youth are taught that to serve Germany is to serve God and to serve Germany they must blindly obey Adolf Hitler, that a nation becomes great in war and flabby in peace, that the old-fashioned Christian virtues, such as mercy, gentleness and love, are unworthy of German "honor." Rosenberg approvingly quotes Hitler's dictum that "humanitarianism is a compound of stupidity, cowardice and arrogance." Underlying this view of man, again, is the idea that man as man is secondary and subordinate to the state. It too is inhuman because its whole conception of Providence is fallacious. But the totalitarians, nazi and communist alike, represent protests against the glaring ills of the democracies. "Has better theology led us, or might it lead us, to a better social order?"

In his chapter on "The Validity of Common Sense," the author states: "The source of our being and the artificer of our nature is God himself. That 'law of nature,' which, as the apostle held, is written on the hearts even of the heathen, is an expression of the reason which of itself is a reflection of the wisdom and eternal law of God. First, then, comes the eternal law of God; second, as reflecting it, the law of nature; and third, the customary and statute law of men, which has no validity except as an approximation to the law of nature. From the being and nature of God himself is derived man's innate sense of justice; and justice may be called man's natural law because, where he commits injustice, he does despite to his human nature, he falls short of the meaning and purpose of humanity."

The thesis of the book is in the kind of naturalism fairly indicated above, grounded in God, it is true, but an "image-of-God" naturalism. Principal Micklem shows that theology was explicit or implied in the views of Hobbes, Rousseau, Luther, Calvin, St. Thomas Aquinas. In the long run, the state cannot be neutral as to religion. Education is even more important for it than politics as such. Education must

have a philosophy, a direction, objectives, and these things all affect the nature and functioning of the state.

The reading of this book puts theology on *terra firma* for him who has thought of it as a subject for speculation. Is it too much to hope that Protestantism will provide a clarification of the relationship between its theology and the great concerns of the state and, therefore, of the individual?

ERDMANN SMITH.

Books in Brief

GEORGE KEITH, 1638-1716. *By Ethyn Williams Kirby. D. Appleton-Century Company, $3.00.*

Early Quaker history is remarkably rich in interesting personalities and episodes. Much of it is just now coming to light. The American Historical Association sponsors this piece of research in the career of a man famous in his day but now nearly forgotten. A Scotch Presbyterian in early life, he joined the Quakers shortly after leaving Aberdeen University. His training enabled him to make an intellectual approach rare, though by no means unique, among seventeenth century Quakers. His *Immediate Revelation* (1668) is said to be the first systematic exposition of the Quaker position. Perhaps it was his Presbyterian background that made him a stickler for orthodoxy. For several years he was occupied with controversy and teaching in Scotland and England, with not less than six periods in prison, and extensive travels in Holland and Germany. In 1685, he went to America as surveyor general for East Jersey. Incidentally he acquired extensive land holdings. He propagandized for the Quakers widely in New England and the middle colonies, and challenged Cotton Mather to a debate in Boston. His advanced position against slavery was only a minor factor in his gradual falling out with the Quakers, which culminated in complete separation, the organization of an independent body of "Christian Quakers" and, after his return to England in 1694, a vigorous campaign to "expose Quaker errors," in which he presently received support from the Anglican S.P.C.K., which published his writings, and the S.P.G., which sent him back to America as an anti-Quaker missionary. His last years were spent as vicar of an Anglican parish.

THE LAMBETH CONFERENCES, THE SOLUTION FOR PAN-ANGLICAN ORGANIZATION. *By William Redmond Curtis. Columbia University Press, $4.00.*

American Episcopalians may not be in unanimous agreement with the author's statement, which stands as a sort of cornerstone of his whole argument, that "the Anglican Communion is as typically British as the Commonwealth of Nations"—the reference being to Episcopal churches throughout the world and to the British commonwealth of nations which has been specifically mentioned in the two sentences preceding. Pan-Episcopacy is a worthy and important movement, but this scarcely seems the moment to link its fortunes inseparably with those of the British empire. No, it is not quite fair to imply that Mr. Curtis does exactly that, though his "typically British" phrase and his analogy between the King of England and the Archbishop of Canterbury as the heads of two similar systems point strongly in that direction. The author's main interest throughout is in the organizational and structural aspects of the church, but this topic comes to life surprisingly at many points in the discussion of incidents which have put strain upon the structure and, in his judgment, have called for closer organization. Most of his space is devoted to a study of the state of the church in 1867 as affected by events of the immediately preceding years and to the Lambeth conferences of 1867 and 1878. Among these events were the publication of the famous *Essays and Reviews* (1860) and the Bishop Colenso case (1863-65), which involved not only biblical and theological questions but a curious constitutional issue. The Lambeth conferences of 1888, 1897, 1908, 1920 and 1930 are only briefly treated.

LANCE. *By Edward F. Haskell. John Day Company, $2.50.*

The author of this novel has a real idea. He believes that the drawing together of nations which is demanded by mankind's extremity will have to be brought to pass in large measure by those persons of multicultural experience who alone are sufficiently free from the parochial loyalties and prejudices of a single national background to be able to think in truly international terms. Perhaps his most important contribution to the establishment of this thesis is his sense of the depth of the divisions which separate members of the various European nationalities. Divisions of this age and emotional content are not to be exorcised by any slogan or ended by passing resolutions. Someone—or rather, many someones—have to show that living on a supranational plane is not only possible but rewarding. Only in that way will the lesson finally be taught. As a novel, this has technical shortcomings, but as a vehicle for the promulgation of an idea it is remarkably thought-provoking. As such, it deserves much more attention than it has so far received. The author is one of the ten children of the famous Haskell missionary family which developed the folk schools in Bulgaria. He is himself, therefore, one of the multicultural of whom he writes. At present he is engaged in a research project for the University of Chicago.

Books Received

American Strategy in World Politics. By Nicholas John Spykman. Harcourt, $3.75. (To be reviewed.)

Remaking America. By Jay Franklin. Houghton Mifflin Co., $3.00. (To be reviewed.)

The Arch Lectures. By Claude Bragdon. Creative Age Press, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

Good Comrades. By Felix Salten. Translated by Paul R. Milton. Bobbs-Merrill, $2.50. The "good comrades" are animals—more dogs than others, but also cats, birds, a rabbit, a cow, a deer, even an ant, besides assorted free citizens of field and forest and the involuntary guests of a pet shop. This sounds like the raw material for a juvenile. So it is. But those who remember *Bambi's Children,* and that Salten wrote it, will be prepared to find in it more of subtlety and reflection than the child mind can be expected to fathom. It has a singular simplicity and charm which lift it into the realm of art for all ages and, one is tempted to say, for the ages.

The Pocketbook of Modern American Plays. Pocket Books, 25 cents. Four complete plays for two bits: "Street Scene," "Awake and Sing," "No Time for Comedy," and "Margin for Error."

The Royal Road to Romance. By Richard Halliburton. Pocket Books, 25 cents. An unabridged edition of the book that made Halliburton famous.

Pocket Book of Vegetable Gardening. By Charles H. Nissley. Pocket Books, 25 cents. First aid for those who want to combat inflation by raising their own.

Awake! and other Wartime Poems. By W. R. Rodgers. Harcourt, $1.50. (To be reviewed.)

The Sabbath Book. By Samuel M. Segal. Behrman's Jewish Book House, $3.00. Here for the first time, says the author, a full account of the law and lore of the Sabbath as held by conservative and orthodox Jews is given in English. The purpose of the book is to inform and exhort Jews of these groups, to make known to them the historic forms of Sabbath observance, and to furnish devotional material and guidance for their own practice. There is

a section on the Sabbath in Jewish theology, and a collection of "Sabbath legends" which, it may be hoped, are regarded as amusing rather than edifying.

Lilith Tells All. By Lilith Lorraine. Avalon Poetry Shrine, Route 8, San Antonio, Texas. Advice, encouragement and technical instruction for amateur poets, including those who would be professional.

The Highway of God. By Ralph W. Sockman. Macmillan, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

Getting Down to Cases. By Charles T. Holman. Macmillan, $2.00. (To be reviewed.)

Preaching in the Early Church. By Hugh Thomson Kerr. Revell, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

The Complete Sayings of Jesus. Arranged by Arthur Hinds. John C. Winston Co., $1.00. This little book serves something the same purpose as the *Red Letter New Testament,* but in laying emphasis upon the words of Jesus as recorded in the Gospels it goes even farther and omits all the rest, except certain brief passages that are needed to indicate the occasion of his words. It was first published about fifteen years ago. The introduction is by Dr. Fosdick.

By an Unknown Disciple. Harpers, $2.00. The story of Jesus is here told, freely and imaginatively, as it might have been told by some unknown follower. The author also is unknown. On the first edition (1919), The Christian Century commented that a reader with no previous knowledge of Jesus "might easily be won at once to the life of faith." This is one of several interesting attempts to tell the story of Jesus from the point of view of some inconspicuous member of the group that accompanied him.

They Got the Blame, The Story of Scapegoats in History. By Kenneth M. Gould. Association Press. This pamphlet of 64 pages embodies a genuine idea about which a large and useful book might be written. It is a study of intolerance, from primitive customs and the persecution of the early Christians to the anti-Semitism, racial intolerance and class antagonisms of today. The connecting thread is that, in every case, intolerance results from trying to blame some group for conditions for which they are not chiefly (or at all) responsible. As regards Catholics and Protestants, there is the usual distortion of perspective—a grand total of twelve lines devoted to more than that many centuries of Catholic intolerance; seven and a half pages about the Catholics as "scapegoats for unreasoning prejudice" in America, with no reference at all to the fact that, at the very time when these properly castigated anti-Catholic campaigns were going on, there was not a Catholic country in the world where Protestants enjoyed one-tenth of the liberty that Catholics enjoyed in predominantly Protestant America. Aside from this not unimportant detail, it is a splendid pamphlet. The price, not stated, is probably about 25 cents. (The bracketing of Michael Servetus with Edmund Campion as "Catholics . . . judicially murdered" by Protestants is really inexcusable.)

Jesus in Action. By Benjamin W. Robinson. Macmillan, $1.50. (To be reviewed.)

Big Ben, A Novel. By Earl Schenck Miers. Westminster Press, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

"Capitalistic Warmongers," a Modern Superstition. By Walter Sulzbach. University of Chicago Press, 25 cents. The title indicates the thesis—that the blaming of modern wars upon capitalists and capitalism is a piece of folklore growing out of the habit of looking for a scapegoat, and not an outgrowth of historical research or actual experience.

Fire Upon the Earth. By Bernhard Christensen. Lutheran Free Church Pub. Co., $1.50. These vigorous chapters, which may well have been sermons, stress the need of the essentials of the Christian faith and the Word of God as saving influence for the individual and society. The author is president of Augsburg College and Seminary.

We Hold These Truths. By Norman Corwin. Howell, Soskin, 75 cents. Millions heard this stirring drama of the Bill of Rights in its radio presentation in December on the official program in celebration of the sesquicentennial of that charter of liberties. It concludes with President Roosevelt's address on that occasion. The radio script has been edited to make it suitable for acting. By voice or in print it is a splendid stimulus to intelligent patriotism.

The Fine Art of Living Together. By Albert W. Beaven. Harpers, $1.60. Dr. Beaven's fine little book (now revised from its 1927 edition) on marriage and the family is a book of religion and of practical wisdom, not of physiology or anthropology. The field of the discussion is suggested, as the author remarks, by the fact that most of the material has been preached in a pulpit. There is no sounder, saner or more helpful book in the area which it occupies.

The Throne of David, A Study of the Fulfilment of the Old Testament in Jesus Christ and his Church. By A. G. Herbert. Morehouse-Gorham, $4.00. This might properly be called a theological and historical discussion of the messiahship. Its thesis is that a continuity of revelation runs through the Old and New Testaments, in such a way that Hebrew messianic prophecy points explicitly to the person Christ Jesus, whose rejection by the Jews cut them off from the heritage of that special place to which God had called them, while the Christian church became the true Israel and the inheritor of the promises. The author is adequately informed concerning the results of Old Testament criticism and says that its methods are indispensable. His own use of the text, however—for example, Exodus and the Psalms—seems to this reviewer to be singularly and inexcusably unaffected by the critical process. It should be added that some scholarly reviewers have taken the book very seriously and place a high value upon its contribution.

CORRESPONDENCE

From Dr. Strasser

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: A friend of mine has sent me the issue of your paper dated February 18, and I was astonished to find in such a serious paper statements so unfair and untrue as those of Ernest S. Pisko in his article, "Free Movements—And Not So Free." May I take the liberty of giving you some facts about myself and the Free German movement, which should clarify matters:

1. It was out of my love and understanding of liberty that I fought for democratic government in post-war Germany against the communistic putsch in 1919 in Munich.

2. It was out of my love and understanding of liberty that I fought for democratic government in post-war Germany against the reactionary military putsch of Kapp and Ludendorff in 1920 at Berlin.

3. I entered the National Socialistic party in 1925, at a time when Hitler was forbidden to speak in northern Germany and when my brother, Gregor, therefore, could organize the party in northern Germany along his lines against the lines of Hitler-Rosenberg-Streicher in southern Germany.

4. A glance at my book, *Hitler and I,* and also at every book about the history of National Socialism (like Konrad Heiden's books) proves that the ideas and the organization of the "Strasser-circle" have been at every point very different from those of the Hitler-circle, which led—after five years of fighting—to my break with Hitler in July 1930.

5. Even Mr. Pisko must confirm that this break was caused by our differences on social questions. But as every reader can see from the book *Nemesis* by Douglas Reed (in which this last conversation with Hitler is published) we disagreed also over foreign policy, over domestic policy and over cultural policy.

6. How fundamental these differences have been even in this time, is historically proved in my book, *Aufbau des Deutschen Sozialismus,* written and published in Germany in 1930 and republished in England a Part III of my book, *Germany Tomorrow.*

7. The murder of my brother Gregor happened four years after my break with Hitler, four years after the foundation of the "Black Front" and four years after publishing of our program, which is—as anybody can see by reading the book *Germany To-*

morrow—the creation of a democratic, federalized and Christian Germany.

8. This confession on democracy and Christianity forces us to fight against nazism as well as against communism, as you will see from the points 1, 2 and 7 of the enclosed booklet of the Free German movement.

9. The Free German movement was founded—as you may also see from this booklet—on January 30, 1941, long before any Free Rumanian, Free Italian or Free Hungarian movement was instituted. The Free German movement has branches in all free countries of the world and its presidium is formed by myself as president, Bruno Fricke, Buenos Aires, first vice-president, and Ulrich Hutten, Johannesburg, as second vice-president—elected for a term of one year by vote of all representatives.

10. I violently object to the implication that my friends Major Buchrucker and Captain Walter Stennes are "notorious murderers." Both men spent years in Hitler's concentration camps because of their anti-Hitler activity. Today Captain Stennes is major general in China and one of the closest collaborators of Chiang Kai-shek.

I would be obliged if you would publish this letter in your paper, to enable all your readers to get the truth. Only if we base the future on truth, can we build a better world after the war.

Montreal, Canada. OTTO STRASSER.

Would Thoreau Have Rejoiced?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: India, for centuries an exploited people, has in prospect a swing to the radically different economic and social setup of her neighbor to the north, while Britain's deathbed repentance marks the loss, by all calculations, of a source of easy wealth. How the whirligig of time brings its revenges! Even America's blood would not purge out the damned spot of English control of a subject people. While the Malayan islands are changing masters India, like Ireland, bids fair to become its own master, and possibly to shape the economic setup of China, already partly bolshevized.

Thoreau would have rejoiced to see this day—or would he? At any rate, this Concord seer of a century ago so held the spirit of revolt in check, through Gandhi, that India's resources and manpower have not been wasted in mechanized arming. So much to the loss of her European master, but to her own gain, if she has the will and the skill to use the opportunity.

If European "powers" are not able, nor destined, to hold their Asiatic possessions for their advantage, shall the United States sacrifice blood and treasure in the attempt?

Concord, Mass. W. B. CONANT.

Must Resist Temptation

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Seldom have I undertaken to comment on statements in your columns. However, in the March 4 issue, you state: "If the pacifist desires a negotiated peace, he cannot escape the duty of fighting for it." To this I must strongly disagree. I frankly say that I desire greatly a negotiated peace and admit that it requires a "half-victory." Nevertheless I repudiate any duty to work for it by supporting war.

It is not an isolated case. There are many things I desire but which I cannot work for because I see no justifiable means of attaining them. One of the clearest and most fundamental teachings of Jesus is that the end does not justify the means. I believe this is true because wrong means produce wrong results—in fact, defeat high aims. Therefore I cannot work for victory by war.

Neither do I deny that I am inescapably involved in war. Unwillingly and unconsciously I aid and abet it, as by paying taxes. Still there are sometimes choices open to me, to do or not to do. In such cases I intend to refrain from any act which would mean participating in or supporting war.

Unlike Dr. Muste, I do feel a desire to join in the effort to drive the enemy back to their former territory, just as I am tempted often to violence. Yet as a Christian, I must conquer the temptation and seek some wholly Christian means of accomplishing a Christian purpose.

Evangelical Congregational Church, Lancaster, Mass. FRANK C. SEYMOUR.

The Church and a New Order

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Among your otherwise fair and gracious comments on my book *The Message of the Church to the World of Today* in the February 11 issue is one that is misleading. You refer to my contention that the political program of the Roman Catholic Church is the only specific feasible program but one which will not do. You leave the impression that I have no other answer to the question: What practical steps are there to take? May I point out that the contention in question is not a part of my constructive discussion at all but occurs only in criticism of the unevangelical view that the church must undertake the direct political task of building a world order as she did in the Middle Ages? My positive thesis is: Since Christian principles do not remain the same after they have been torn from the ground of Christian fellowship, the church's political task lies within, not beside, her spiritual task. The church makes her most effective contribution to civilization not by becoming secularized but by "being true to her own nature and function." I place special emphasis upon the process whereby the church hallows the common life of humanity through the social application of "universal spiritual priesthood." The Scandinavian countries have, I believe, afforded the best illustration of how this evangelical principle works.

Wittenberg College, Springfield, Ohio. T. A. KANTONEN.

[Correspondence with the author has not materially affected the opinion expressed in the review.—LITERARY EDITOR.]

Between the Jungle and the Kingdom

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The point you make from week to week is that war is God's judgment upon us for our sins. It may be agreed that this is in some measure the case. By obedience to the teaching of Jesus, we might remove many of the conditions which breed war. But who will say dogmatically that the most faithful Christian purpose in our dealings with other nations would put an end to wars? Wars result in some measure from the fact that men have not as yet been able to learn the technique of spheric self-government. They are in that degree part of the evolutionary process, as well as the wages of sin—man's failure to do as well as he knows. For this failure we are guilty and war comes as divine judgment, but not for the fact that we are no farther from the jungle than we happen to be. You say, "War is the collapse of the divine order which God is striving, with man's cooperation, to establish." How can an order that has not been established collapse?

It seems to me that the Christian's duty must be considered from the standpoint of his unhappy position at the point of tension between the downward pull of the jungle in society and the upward pull of the Kingdom of God. "The teachings of Christ," you say, "cannot be practiced in total war." If we take that position, we might as well discard Christianity. Neither can the teachings of Christ be practiced in peacetime, because the unchristian conditions which eventually lead to war exist then and we reap benefits from them of a kind and share a common guilt.

My belief is that whether one is a Christian or not, in war or peace, must be decided by his spirit. If he objects to social evils and works as he can to abolish them, he is a Christian although he bears some guilt for the death they bring to some of his fellow men; and if, loathing war and putting hate out of his heart, he goes to war to defend from destruction the costly gains of civilized society, he is a Christian. It is written that Jesus who knew no sin was made sin. He may have known no sin in his soul, in that his purpose was altogether loving and righteous, but, coming into our life as he did, he could not but bear the guilt its evil imposes upon all; and that tension in his being was his real cross, as it is the

Christian's. The stronger our purpose is against evil and the more sensitive our souls are, the heavier will be the cross we bear. Will anyone tell us when we are struggling under this cross that we are not Christians, war having created conditions under which the teachings of Christ cannot be practiced?

First Baptist Church, DAVID P. GAINES.
Waterbury, Conn.

Training for the Co-ops

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In times like these one of the most baffling questions facing a pacifist is, "Where can I work positively and constructively on a job of social importance in accord with my ideals?" As volunteers, many have found an answer in committee work in consumer cooperatives. The opportunity for still others to find a vocation and a career in the same field is expanding continuously. I believe your readers would be interested to know that a training course to equip women for clerking and management jobs in cooperative food stores, and to develop the capacity of men who are not eligible for selective service classification as draftees or conscientious objectors, to meet the challenging demands of cooperative management responsibilities, will be given this spring.

The course will be given at Rochdale Institute, training school of the Cooperative League of the U.S.A., by the Council for Cooperative Business Training. Women prominent in the field of nutrition and food editors of metropolitan papers will be invited to lecture. The course will run from April 6 to May 30 and will include an internship in a group of co-op training stores. We would be glad to hear from those who are interested.

Eastern Cooperative League, ROBERT L. SMITH.
135 Kent Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y.

For Such a Time as This

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The article by Dr. E. Stanley Jones, "They Did Not Sing," certainly was timely. When I read it I simply said, "He has come to the Kingdom for such a time as this." It does prove that this mistreatment of the Negro is not going on unrecognized by all white people. We do have the interested few. I wish that instead of being a poor Negro preacher I had the money to make possible a wide circulation of that issue of The Christian Century among those of the white race who are guilty of discrimination against the Negro and are making the Negro's lot difficult. Yes, we are living in a white man's world. We are certainly reminded of that fact every time that we seek an opportunity to better our condition.

I want to congratulate you too for your fairness. Each time that you treat this racial question, and especially the treatment of the Negro, you are true blue.

Williamson, W. Va. IRVY H. GARY.

Realism and the Peace

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Of the many letters to The Christian Century on the question of war and the Christian conscience, none, it seems to me, reveals a greater sense of realism than the one in your issue for February 18 headed "A Student's Pessimism" and signed by A. Roy Eckhardt. Let anyone read the many idealistic and ideational (Sorokin) plans for a new world after the war from the Atlantic Charter to the proposals by the pope, and then ask whether there is any likelihood of their being given more than lip service—if that—by the present leaders of the Allied powers and in the atmosphere of hatred and revenge in which the peace treaties will be written. Consider, for instance, Mr. Churchill's deliberate removal of India and the colonial empire from the field covered by the Atlantic Charter and his stubborn refusal to state the aims of the war in definite terms! Faced by the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms, I am afraid the peacemakers are likely to find abundant proof of the truth of what Mr. Churchill once said in the House of Commons: "When you descend from the realm of pious platitudes, you reach the realm of heated controversy." Having made our bed in hell for a number of years we are not likely, as Mr. Eckhardt says, "to find heaven when we wake up after the war." The "brave new world" will be framed after the pattern of Aldous Huxley rather than that of Roosevelt.

Edmonton, Alta. CHARLES HERBERT HUESTIS.

Draft Chaplains

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: According to the latest *Federal Council Bulletin* there is an urgent need of Protestant chaplains. A call has been sent out to denominational leaders, presumably with the hope that these will publicize the need and possibly with the hope that they may enlist some chaplains from among the younger clergy.

I wish to bear witness to the predicament of a young minister. Exempted from the draft, the decision is entirely his own as to whether he will be of greater service where he is or with the men in uniform as a chaplain. It is a choice which puts too much pressure on him and which he should not be required to make.

There should be a draft for chaplains. I am sure that there are many ministers who would not care to enlist in any capacity but who nevertheless feel the shame of being protected by the skirts of the church. They would prefer to take their chances with everyone else. What an awful suspicion hovers around the sincere young man entering the seminary these days!

Plymouth Church, NORMAN HENLEY.
St. Helens, Ore.

Good in the Long Run?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I have just been reading the regrets of the reporters of the United Nations regarding the fall of Singapore, Java, etc. Yet I am wondering whether this may not be a good thing for all of us in the long run, perhaps even the means of injecting some healing into the badly mangled international situation. It is helping to explode the white man's claim to be the sovereign ruler of all creation, it appears to be the motivating cause of finally bringing Britain to her senses and compelling her to offer some measure of home rule to India, perhaps it will stiffen China's backbone to take back Hongkong and Shanghai and put an end to extraterritoriality after the war. More power to the Four Freedoms!

Community Church, EDWIN F. IRWIN.
Provo, Utah.

Pelts and Property Rights

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: According to the code of the bandit nations the pelt of a squirrel in a tree belongs to any hunter who has the gun and the skill to shoot it.

But under the stabilized civilization of Britain and America the pelt belongs to the one who personally or through his ancestors or agents has acquired the land on which the tree sheltering the squirrel is growing.

Under the better world we expect when the hunter and the landowner get through fighting over who shall have the pelt, it is predicted that the furry skin will belong to the squirrel.

(Suggested by a quotation from Max Nomad in the *American Mercury.)*

Keene, N. H. CLARENCE H. DEMAR.

Help When Needed

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I want to express my appreciation for the article by Georgia Harkness, which you published in the January 14 issue of The Christian Century. Her scientific analysis of the problem of religion as a cure-all for the "hell" caused by physical and psychological crises gave me new hope at a time of deep discouragement.

Auburn, Wash. MRS. LYNN BRANNAN.

The Churches and a Just and Durable Peace

Reports Adopted at the National Study Conference at Delaware, Ohio, March 3-5, 1942, under the auspices of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America

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Introduction

THE Federal Council of Churches, at its biennial meeting in Atlantic City, December 1940, created a Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. One of the tasks assigned to the commission was "to clarify the mind of our churches regarding the moral, political and economic foundations of an enduring peace." In keeping with this task, the commission convened a National Study Conference on the Churches and a Just and Durable Peace at Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio, March 3-5, 1942.

The 377 delegates were named by the appropriate agencies of their respective communions and allied religious organizations, including city and state councils of churches. The Message adopted by the conference is herewith printed in full. It should be pointed out that the conference, in adopting its Message, spoke only for itself, and assumes full responsibility for the publication of its findings.

I

The conference spoke in world terms and the delegates endeavored to think ecumenically. Leaders from other nations were among the lecturers. Among the delegates were missionaries and some who have had wide international experience. Documents setting forth the views of church groups in other lands had been carefully studied. However, it is recognized that the conference delegates were Americans and that they would neither seek nor claim immunity from the influence of American tradition and thought. Therefore, as the report of their views is sent to other lands through the study department of the World Council of Churches, it is expected and hoped that other insights will be received in return.

The conference was divided into four sections:

1. The Relation of the Church to a Just and Durable Peace.
Chairman: Professor Theodore M. Greene, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Rapporteur: President John A. Mackay, Princeton Theological Seminary, Princeton, N. J.

2. The Political Aspects of a Just and Durable Peace.
Chairman: President Harold W. Dodds, Princeton University, Princeton, N. J.
Rapporteur: Professor Ben A. Arneson, Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio.

3. The Economic Aspects of a Just and Durable Peace.
Chairman: President Charles J. Turck, Macalester College, St. Paul, Minn.
Rapporteur: Dr. Ernest F. Tittle, Pastor, First Methodist Church, Evanston, Ill.

4. The Social Aspects of a Just and Durable Peace.
Chairman: Miss Sue Weddell, Secretary, Foreign Missions Conference.
Rapporteur: Dr. Leslie B. Moss, Executive Secretary, Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals in the Churches.

Mr. John Foster Dulles, the chairman of the Federal Council's Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, and Dr. Luther A. Weigle, president of the Federal Council of Churches, shared the responsibility of presiding at the conference.

II

The Message embraces the Statement of Guiding Principles previously approved by the commission, together with the recommendations of the four sections received and approved as to substance by the conference in plenary session.

The communions appointing delegates to the conference were:

American Unitarian Association
National Baptist Convention, U.S.A., Inc.
Northern Baptist Convention
Seventh Day Baptist
Church of the Brethren
Church of the United Brethren in Christ
Congregational and Christian
Disciples of Christ
Protestant Episcopal
Evangelical Church
Evangelical and Reformed
Five Years Meeting of Friends
Friends General Conference
Religious Society of Friends of Philadelphia and Vicinity
American Lutheran Church
Board of Social Missions of the United Lutheran Church in America
National Lutheran Council
English Lutheran Church
Evangelical Lutheran Augustana Synod
Mennonite
Methodist
African Methodist Episcopal Zion
Colored Methodist Episcopal
Moravian
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.
Reformed Church in America
Salvation Army
Universalist

III

In addition to the foregoing communions, the following religious bodies and councils of churches were represented:

American Friends Service Committee
American Joint Executive Committee for the World Council of Churches
Association of Council Secretaries
Church Peace Union
Christian Science
Interseminary Movement
Laymen's Missionary Movement
Student Volunteer Movement
United Council of Church Women
United Stewardship Council
Foreign Missions Conference

Home Missions Council
International Council of Religious Education
Bristol Council of Churches
Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation
Christian Council of Atlanta
Chicago Church Federation
Christian Council of Allegheny County
Cincinnati Council of Churches
Cleveland Church Federation
Connecticut Council of Churches
Council of Churches of Buffalo and Erie County
Greater New York Federation of Churches
Hartford Federation of Churches
Kansas City Council of Churches
World Alliance for International Friendship Through the Churches
National Council Y.M.C.A.
National Board Y.W.C.A.
Massachusetts Council of Churches
Memphis Ministerial Association
Metropolitan Church Federation of St. Louis
Michigan Council of Churches and Christian Education
Minnesota Council of Religious Education
New Haven Council of Churches
Ohio Council of Churches
Rhode Island Council of Churches
Toledo Council of Churches
Tulsa Council of Churches
West Virginia Council of Churches and Christian Education

Preamble

THE PERIOD through which we are passing is the most revolutionary in world history, when we take into account the vastness of the areas affected. A familiar order of life is hastening to a close and none can predict the shape of things to come. When the present conflict is over, and irrespective of which side wins in the struggle, the world that we know will be radically altered, for better or for worse. That being so, all discussion of a future peace settlement, if it is to be germane to the real human situation, must take full cognizance of the tremendous forces that are operating at the present time.

In consequence of the prophetic tradition of biblical religion, and in loyalty to the words of Jesus Christ himself, it is the function of the church to "discern" the times and the seasons, to "decipher the meaning" of each succeeding era and to bear witness to the word and will of God in each concrete situation. In doing so the church will issue a call to repentance in which both church and nation shall ackowledge their separate and corporate guilt before God.

The churches in their purely temporal aspects, and apart from their spiritual functions, are powerful social institutions. As such they must concern themselves at all times in a vital and primary way with social confusion and chaos.

The church will make plain that peace is much more than the cessation or absence of conflict, following upon the joyous commitment of life to a cause greater than individual or national self-interest. In this respect peace is like freedom, both have their origin not in a release from that which disturbs or curbs, but rather an abandonment to the self-transcending demands of a great devotion. The church can most adequately meet man's perennial demand for peace and freedom by summoning men to commit themselves to Jesus Christ and to the cause of the Kingdom of God in him.

Guiding Principles

IN the fall of 1941 the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace formulated a tentative draft of a Statement of Guiding Principles. This draft was then revised and submitted to the entire membership of the commission for final action. The commission met in Delaware, Ohio, on the evening prior to the convening of the conference at which time the Statement of Guiding Principles was put into final form.

As members of the commission established by the Federal Council of Churches to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace, we have prepared this statement. The principles upon which world order must depend seem to us to be found among those which men of good will throughout the ages have accepted as part of the moral law. In this we rejoice. For peace will require the cooperation of men of all nations, races and creeds. We have therefore first set out (Points I to IX) those guiding principles which, it seems to us, Christians and non-Christians can alike accept.

We believe that a special responsibility rests upon the people of the United States; we accordingly (Point X) express our thoughts in that regard.

Above all, we are impressed by the supreme responsibility which rests upon Christians. Moral law may point the way to peace, but Christ, we believe, showed that way with greatest clarity. We therefore, in conclusion (Points XI to XIII), direct ourselves to Christians.

I. We believe that moral law, no less than physical law, undergirds our world. There is a moral order which is fundamental and eternal, and which is relevant to the corporate life of men and the ordering of human society. If mankind is to escape chaos and recurrent war, social and political institutions must be brought into conformity with this moral order.

II. We believe that the sickness and suffering which afflict our present society are proof of indifference to, as well as direct violation of, the moral law. All share in responsibility for the present evils. There is none who does not need forgiveness. A mood of genuine penitence is therefore demanded of us—individuals and nations alike.

III. We believe that it is contrary to the moral order that nations in their dealings with one another should be motivated by a spirit of revenge and retaliation. Such attitudes will lead, as they always have led, to renewed conflict.

IV. We believe that the principle of cooperation and mutual concern, implicit in the moral order and essential to a just and durable peace, call for a true community of nations. The interdependent life of nations must be ordered by agencies having the duty and the power to promote and safeguard the general welfare of all peoples. Only thus can wrongs be righted and justice and security be achieved. A world of irresponsible, competing and unrestrained national sovereignties, whether acting alone or in alliance or in coalition, is a world of international anarchy. It must make place for a higher and more inclusive authority.

V. We believe that economic security is no less essential than political security to a just and durable peace. Such security nationally and internationally involves among other things the use of material resources and the tools of production to raise the general standard of living. Nations are not economically self-sufficient, and the natural wealth of the world is not evenly distributed. Accordingly the possession of such natural resources should not be looked upon as an opportunity to promote national advantage or to enhance the prosperity of some at the expense of others. Rather such possession is a trust to be discharged in the general interest. This calls for more than an offer to sell to all on equal terms. Such an offer may be a futile gesture unless those in need can, through the selling of their own goods and services, acquire the means of buying. The solution of this problem, doubtless involving some international organization, must be accepted as a responsibility by those who possess natural resources needed by others.

VI. We believe that international machinery is required to facilitate the easing of such economic and political tensions as are inevitably recurrent in a world which is living and therefore changing. Any attempt to freeze an order of society by inflexible treaty specifications is bound, in the long run, to jeopardize the peace of mankind. Nor must it be forgotten that refusal to assent to needed change may be as immoral as the attempt by violent means to force such change.

VII. We believe that that government which derives its just powers from the consent of the governed is the truest expression of the rights and dignity of man. **This requires that we seek autonomy for all subject and colonial peoples.** Until that shall be realized, the task of colonial government is no longer one of exclusive national concern. It must be recognized as a common responsibility of mankind, to be carried out in the interests of the colonial peoples by the most appropriate form of organization. This would, in many cases, make colonial government a task of international collaboration for the benefit of colonial peoples who would, themselves, have a voice in their government. As the agencies for the promotion of world-wide political and economic security become effective, the moral, social and material welfare of colonial populations can be more fully realized.

VIII. We believe that military establishments should be internationally con-

trolled and be made subject to law under the community of nations. For one or more nations to be forcibly deprived of their arms while other nations retain the right of maintaining or expanding their military establishments can only produce an uneasy peace for a limited period. Any initial arrangement which falls short of this must therefore be looked upon as temporary and provisional.

IX. We believe that the right of all men to pursue work of their own choosing and to enjoy security from want and oppression is not limited by race, color or creed. The rights and liberties of racial and religious minorities in all lands should be recognized and safeguarded. Freedom of religious worship, of speech and assembly, of the press, and of scientific inquiry and teaching are fundamental to human development and in keeping with the moral order.

X. We believe that, in bringing international relations into conformity with the moral law, a very heavy responsibility devolves upon the United States. For at least a generation we have held preponderant economic power in the world, and with it the capacity to influence decisively the shaping of world events. It should be a matter of shame and humiliation to us that actually the influences shaping the world have largely been irresponsible forces. Our own positive influence has been impaired because of concentration on self and on our short-range material gains. **Many of the major preconditions of a just and durable peace require changes of national policy on the part of the United States. Among such may be mentioned: equal access to natural resources, economic collaboration, equitable treatment of racial minorities, international control of tariffs, limitation of armaments, participation in world government. We must be ready to subordinate immediate and particular national interests to the welfare of all.** If the future is to be other than a repetition of the past, the United States must accept the responsibility for constructive action commensurate with its power and opportunity.

XI. We believe that a supreme responsibility rests with the church. The church, being a creation of God in Jesus Christ, is called to proclaim to all men everywhere the way of life. Moreover, the church, which is now in reality a world community, may be used of God to develop his spirit of righteousness and love in every race and nation and thus to make possible a just and durable peace. For this service Christians must now dedicate themselves, seeking forgiveness for their manifold sins and the constant guidance and help of God.

XII. We believe that, as Christian citizens, we must seek to translate our beliefs into practical realities and to create a public opinion which will insure that the United States shall play its full and essential part in the creation of a moral way of international living. We must strive within the life of our own nation for change which will result in the more adequate application here of the principles above enumerated as the basis for a just and durable world order.

XIII. We believe that the eternal God revealed in Christ is the Ruler of men and of nations and that his purpose in history will be realized. For us he is the source of moral law and the power to make it effective. Amid the darkness and tragedy of the world of today we are upheld by faith that the kingdom of this world will become the Kingdom of Christ and that he shall reign forever and ever.

The Church and a Just and Durable Peace

[NOTE: In acting upon this and other section reports the conference proceeded under the following resolution: "That the section reports submitted to this conference be received and approved as to substance, with the understanding that after careful editing and coordination they be commended to our respective constituencies for their favorable consideration and action."]

WE BELIEVE it is the purpose of God to create a world-wide community in Jesus Christ, transcending nation, race and class. The Christian church, accordingly, is responsible not only to proclaim the divine message, but also to contribute by all the means in its power, to secure a world order in which God shall have his rightful place, and the basic needs of mankind shall be satisfied. In the present crisis this responsibility of the church is made more manifest than ever before. It therefore becomes its inescapable duty to speak both to its own members and to the leaders of our political, economic and cultural life concerning what seems to it to be the will of God for the peaceful ordering of human life.

In order that its witness may be effective in the fullest measure, it is important that the church reflect in every phase of its own life—congregational, denominational, interdenominational and ecumenical—the reality of the peace, unity and cooperation which it recommends to secular society.

Conscious also of its helplessness apart from God, and of the infinite resources which it has in God for the supply of every need, the church is called upon to a new ministry of prayer in order that God's saving power may become manifest amid the complexity and tragedy of our life.

2. We are penitently conscious of the many weaknesses and shortcomings of the church itself in the face of the tremendous responsibilities with which it is confronted. We have not sufficiently borne witness to, nor even adequately recognized for the church itself, that very unity of mankind, beyond race and nation, which again and again we have declared in principle.

We call upon our churches, therefore, to enter seriously and immediately upon the task of breaking down the barriers that so easily divide us into opposing groups. We would say to them: If you believe in peace for the world, if you are working for cooperation between nations, governments, races and peoples under the Fatherhood of God, you must set the example for such reconciliation and cooperation. The Christian churches must come to realize as they now do not, that joining the Church of Christ in any of its branches means entering a fellowship world-wide in extent, beyond denomination and race, and should involve responsible participation in the task of making spiritually more real our mystical fellowship in community life and in the world.

We would also call upon our churches to enter upon a new era of interdenominational cooperation in which the claims of cooperative effort should be placed, so far as possible, before denominational prestige, and that conjoint Christian efforts be not weakened or imperiled by our several denominational allegiances.

3. We declare as the major premise that the church is a spiritual entity, one and indivisible, which as such is not and cannot be broken by human conflicts. Therefore the church is in a unique position to heal the wounds of war and bind the world together in a just and durable peace. We recognize the particular rights and responsibilities of the state in connection with the secular order. But we reaffirm the Christian truth that the church in its essential nature is an ecumenical, supranational body, separate from and independent of all states, including our own national state. The spiritual responsibilities of the church and the spiritual service which it may render derive not from the claims which the state may make but from the freedom and autonomy of the church itself under the Lord Jesus Christ who is its Living Head.

4. We believe that each local church will do much to create the mood out of which a just and durable peace can grow, and make its own message of Christian brotherhood real to itself and its constituency, if it will give itself to specific acts of service and reconciliation within its own community.

The practice of acts of interracial good will, aid and friendship for new Americans, assistance to refugees and to bewildered but innocent aliens, a ministry to the victims of war at home and abroad—these and other such immediate acts of helpfulness will be the best educational experience for the church group itself and will build the community attitudes upon which the peace we seek may later come.

In order to prepare and administer an inclusive educational program designed to promote a just and durable peace, we recommend:

(a) That integrated and cumulative courses for use in church schools and study groups be constructed in consultation with the International Council of Religious Education. (These shall include not only bases for discussion but also suggestions for activities and projects.)

(b) That the cooperation of denominational boards of Christian education in adapting and using these courses be secured.

(c) That particular attention be given to further participation and enlarged support by youth through special emphases on

youth programs and through the cooperation of existing youth agencies.

(d) That means be sought effectively to counteract hate and vengeance as controlling motives in the present crisis.

(e) That the possibilities of including the study of peace issues in public and private day schools be explored and utilized.

(f) That a synthesis of common elements in the proposals of various peace agencies be made available.

(g) That Christian people be prepared to make sacrifices in the interest of peace.

(h) That the church should take greater account of (I) the potential power of childhood as bearing on future international relationship; (II) the importance of Christian education in the home; (III) the possible motivations for Christian world attitude encouraged by common response to human needs; and (IV) the results to be obtained by cooperation with service agencies other than the church.

(i) That all vehicles for the transmission of ideals, including magazines, motion pictures and radio, be employed.

Moreover, in order effectively to convey to governmental authorities the mind of the church on principles pertaining to a just and durable peace, we recommend to the Commission on the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace:

(a) That studies be undertaken to ascertain: opinions among church members about social justice and peace; areas where information is lacking; methods of meeting needs thus revealed; best technique of peace education and action by local churches; ways in which ideals of Christian citizens may be brought into relation with the attitudes of legislative authorities.

(b) That the church be kept informed about legislative proposals and actions, and be aided in rightly understanding their significance.

(c) That full and understanding support be given the efforts of government officials who are promoting far-sighted peace proposals.

(d) That churches be informed of the present work of the World Council of Churches, now in process of formation, in steps preliminary to a just peace and that their active cooperation be solicited.

(e) That preparation for a session of the World Council be encouraged in order that through such a session the influence of Christian thought be brought to bear upon the formulation of plans for peace settlement, and that arrangements be made for an adequate Christian representation to meet whenever and wherever any official peace conference or conferences may be held.

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5. We believe that if the churches of America are to participate adequately in making peace just and durable, they must develop a more real and vital sense of mission to mankind in the name of Christ, recognizing responsibility for service to humanity in all areas of life, social as well as geographical.

The finest expression of that sense of mission is to be found, we believe, in the missionary enterprises of the church world-wide. However, the aftermath of war on a world scale will necessitate widespread readjustment of program and service to meet the tremendous need of the world. We recommend, therefore:

(a) That the mission boards through cooperative agencies should, at the earliest possible moment, be prepared to interpret to the churches the new opportunities and the necessary adjustments of machinery and study, whatever drastic changes such adjustments may involve.

(b) That a call be issued, if possible through the World Council of Churches, for a more thoroughgoing participation in the world mission of the church, urging at the same time close and warmer cooperation among Christians of *all* lands, in working together in Christ's name for our brother-men everywhere.

The Political Bases of a Just and Durable Peace

THE CHURCHES of America face clear responsibilities in seeking to establish a better world when the war has ended. First among post-war duties will be the achievement of a just peace settlement with due regard to the welfare of all nations, the vanquished, the overrun and the victors alike.

In order that such a settlement may tend toward a better political order, we, as citizens of the United States of America, advocate the following principles and measures:

1. That the United States pursue a responsible national policy with concern for the welfare of all peoples and that the United States cooperate fully with all nations and peoples in working towards a world order of justice and peace.

2. That during a transitional period after the fighting has ended, the efforts of the peoples of the world be devoted, in proportion to their ability, to the re-establishment of order, the provision of food, shelter and medical service, and the restoration of stable government and economic activity, especially in the devastated territories. These emergency measures must include policing by joint action for the protection of minorities and disarmed populations, and positive measures of economic and cultural cooperation. They should be carried out under international authorities, representative of all peoples concerned. **There should be no punitive reparations, no humiliating decrees of war guilt, and no arbitrary dismemberment of nations.** All of these emergency measures should tend toward a growing structure of international order.

3. That among the functions of government that must be performed are the preservation of public order, the maintenance of economic opportunity, the safeguarding of public health and welfare, and the direction of population movements. In large part, these functions must be performed by local and national governments, but in part they can now be effectively carried out only by international authority.

4. That certain powers now exercised by national governments must, therefore, be delegated to international government, organized and acting in accordance with a world system of law. Among the powers so delegated must be the power of final judgment in controversies between nations, the maintenance and use of armed forces except for preservation of domestic order, and the regulation of international trade and population movements among nations.

5. That international authorities competent to perform these functions may be of two sorts. (1) The ultimate requirement is a duly constituted world government of delegated powers: an international legislative body, an international court with adequate jurisdiction, international administrative bodies with necessary powers, and adequate international police forces and provision for world-wide economic sanctions. (2) As steps toward, and potential organs of, such world government, there is need for many sorts of international bodies charged with specific duties, such as the International Labor Organization, and various agencies such as those now acting for the United Nations to coordinate natural resources, shipping and food distribution. Such bodies must be adapted to the service of world order and government, and must not become a substitute therefor. In the operation of these agencies, and in progressing toward full world government, every effort should be made to achieve agreement and voluntary cooperation of all concerned.

6. That, utilizing experience with the mandate principle, a system of administration of colonial territories under international authority be developed. In areas now under colonial administration, advance toward self-government should be carried forward in substantial progress. The affairs of peoples deemed not yet capable of self-government should be administered as a common trust, by international authority, in the interest of these peoples as members of a world society.

7. That the influence of the churches shall be employed to keep the foregoing principles before the attention of diplomats and statesmen.

The Federal Council's Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace had issued, prior to the Delaware Conference, a number of pamphlets bearing on the political aspects of this subject. Complete information concerning these may be obtained from the Federal Council of Churches, 297 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

The Economic Bases of a Just and Durable Peace

I

OUR CONCERN with world economics is an obvious consequence of our desire, as Christians, to realize an ever richer spiritual world fellowship. While the strengthening of the spiritual bond may help to prepare for a solution of the economic problems of the world, the spiritual union may itself be gravely impaired or disrupted by conflict arising in the economic realm. We are deeply disturbed by the economic distress of millions of our fellow men and by economic conditions that threaten the extension of the Kingdom of God on earth.

II

We view the economic tensions and distresses of our day as symptoms of a general world disorder. In our era production has been carried on primarily with a view to monetary gains. Profit has been the principal incentive relied upon to turn the wheels of industry and to bring forth the fruits of the soil.

This system has in recent years developed grave defects. There have occurred mass unemployment, widespread dispossession from homes and farms, destitution, lack of opportunity for youth and of security for old age. These calamities, which have often been accentuated by short range self-seeking trade policies of various nations, have made for war. There has been a sharp increase in economic nationalism with tariffs being raised, monetary systems adjusted for the benefit of national interests, and a race for colonies on the part of some countries. Out of this economic insecurity has come an atmosphere favorable to the rise of demagogues and dictators. Mass unrest has afforded violent and unscrupulous men the opportunity to seize leadership and has made any rational approach to international disputes impossible.

In this chaotic situation there has arisen in certain countries an alternative way of production which is based on complete management and control of all economic life by government. With this has come a system of compulsion which deprives the individual of freedoms, economic, intellectual and spiritual, necessary to human dignity.

We do not believe that we are limited to a choice between these two alternatives. If this seems the only choice it is largely because the churches have failed generally to inculcate Christian motivation. Willingness to strive and to produce and to render services should not be dependent either wholly upon profit motivation or wholly upon compulsion. We urge upon the churches that they have the great opportunity and responsibility to make possible a generally acceptable solution by bringing people to a different and more Christian motivation.

In a day when revolutionary upheavals have swept away the traditional economic organization in Russia, Italy and Germany, and now when, by reason of the necessities of war, that economic order is being radically reorganized everywhere, the church has a manifest duty in the economic field, both urban and rural. That duty is not to line up on the side of any economic system and certainly not to prescribe details or advocate panaceas. Its responsibility lies in a deeper moral realm. As Christians we must be vitally concerned for the preservation of human values in any and every system. **The Christian doctrine of man as a child of God carries with it the demand that all men, without distinction of race, creed or class, shall be afforded the economic means of life and growth.**

Any economic program which allows the quest for private gain to disregard human welfare, which regiments human beings and denies them freedom of collective bargaining, thus reducing labor to a mere commodity; any program which results in mass unemployment or dire poverty in mine or factory or farm; any program which fails to conserve natural resources and results in soil deterioration and erosion and along with it human erosion and deterioration of rural life in home and school and church, is manifestly wrong. Against such evils the church should arouse the conscience of mankind in every nation. The church must demand economic arrangements measured by human welfare as revealed by secure employment, decent homes and living conditions, opportunity for youth, freedom of occupation and of cultural activities, recognition of the rights of labor, and security in illness and old age. To secure these arrangements it must appeal to the Christian motive of human service as paramount to personal gain or governmental coercion.

III

The building of a just and peaceful world involves the building of national and local communities on the basis of justice, freedom and cooperation for the common good.

We believe that a new ordering of economic life is both imminent and imperative, and that it will come either through voluntary cooperation within the framework of democracy or through explosive political revolution. We recognize the need of experimentation with various forms of ownership and control, private, cooperative and public. It is hardly to be supposed that any one system, whether of private, cooperative or public enterprise, is suited to all kinds of production, distribution and service. The production and distribution of goods on the basis of voluntary cooperation is an experiment which in many parts of the world is meeting with notable success.

IV

We believe that no nation or group of nations can solve in a permanent way the economic problems interior to itself without the cooperation in good will of the other peoples of the world. The economic prosperity of one nation bears a direct and not an inverse ratio to that of others. It is necessary to abandon injurious forms of economic competition and to avoid entrance upon the disastrous chain of economic counter-measures and reprisals which often mark the policy of competing nations. We endorse the principle that "national interdependence now replaces independence and that action by any nation, notably in the economic field, which materially and adversely affects other people, is not purely a matter of domestic policy but is coupled with an international responsibility."

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[In conjunction with the foregoing affirmation of general principles the conference approved the following recommendations and convictions. The conference did not reach the same unanimity with regard to these recommendations as was expressed with respect to the general principles embodied in the report of the Economic Section. Insofar as they involve technical judgments, they call for special consideration and study.—EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.]

1. That every man should have the opportunity to share in the ownership of both personal and productive property, such as a home, a farm and economic enterprises.

2. That every member and family of the human race has a right to steady employment and to earn an income such as may provide the necessities of life and growth and is in accord with the wealth-producing capacity of his day and the requirements of responsible conservation of natural resources.

3. That in early years every individual has the right to full-time educational opportunities with reasonable consideration of his talents, interests and probable vocation; that in later years every individual is entitled to economic security in retirement and the continuation of cultural opportunities; that in the whole span of life every individual is entitled to adequate health service and professional medical care; and that in the productive years there is the universal obligation to work in some socially necessary service.

4. That every man has the right to employment of a kind that is consistent with human dignity and self-respect, and to such leisure as is essential for cultural and spiritual development; that employers of all kinds should recognize and safeguard these rights.

5. That citizens, through their governments or other appropriate agencies, have not only the right but the duty (a) To prevent destructive cyclical trends in business by regulatory measures or, if these prove inadequate, by direct initiative; (b) To counteract the unemployment resulting from technological change through vocational re-education, through public employment agencies and, if necessary, through a reorganization of industries and markets.

6. That industrial democracy is fundamental to successful political democracy, and we therefore recommend that labor be given an increasing responsibility for and participation in industrial management. The principle of democracy in economic relations should be accorded wider expression by the

development of stronger *voluntary* producers' associations, farm organizations, labor organizations, professional groups and consumers organizations, and their integration into some form of national economic council, for planning in cooperation with government for maximum production and consumption and the abolition of unemployment. In each industry also, industrial councils should be developed, representative of management, labor and consumers, for democratic direction of industries towards these same ends. The effect of maximum production and consumption in each country would be to decrease the pressure of competition for world markets and thus to mitigate one of the major economic causes of war.

7. That we cannot find the means of preventing social disorder until we have ended the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty. We believe that a tax program should be formulated in such a way that the burden be placed in proportion to the ability to pay, to the end that our wealth may be more equitably distributed.

8. That agriculture has a dual importance, both as a way of making a living and as a basis of family and community life. Our economic system must become servant and not master in maintaining the socially significant services of agriculture, such as feeding the world and producing the organic raw materials essential to industry.

9. In view of the Christian principle that a house divided against itself cannot stand, we urge that the International Labor Organization or its successor organization after the war shall make a special study of all available plans for avoiding or reducing the animosities too often prevailing between labor and management and tending to national inefficiency and war.

10. **The progressive elimination of restrictions on world trade, such as tariffs and quotas, under the guidance of an international organization and by other appropriate methods.**

11. "The fullest collaboration between all nations in the economic field with the object of securing *for all* improved labor standards, economic advancement and social security." This is the language of the Atlantic Charter, Article 5. We call attention however to the fact that in Article 4 of this Charter, the obligation "to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access on equal terms to the trade and raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity," is limited by the phrase "with due respect for their existing obligations." We urge that such existing obligations be modified so as to permit the complete achievement of the goal set forth in this same Article. We hold that in all this matter the rights and needs of indigenous populations should be given just consideration.

12. The establishment of a universal system of money. The money system should be so planned as to prevent inflation and deflation, insofar as this is possible through monetary means.

13. The establishment of a democratically controlled international bank or banks to make development capital available in all parts of the world without the predatory or imperialistic aftermath so characteristic of large-scale private or governmental loans.

14. The creation of a world organization to study and make recommendations concerning problems arising from the pressure of population on the means of subsistence. We condemn any attempt upon the part of any nation to solve these problems by measures that discriminate against any people because of race or creed.

We believe that wealthy nations should not only refrain from action that is injurious to their neighbors, but should initiate action that is calculated to benefit their neighbors, as for example, the direction of foreign investments with a view to raising the standard of living of the underprivileged peoples of the earth. No attempt should be made, however, to *impose* an alien culture upon any people.

We recognize that at the close of the war vast populations will be in need of food, shelter, clothing and medical care, and that vast areas will call for physical and economic rehabilitation. We believe that the American people, acting through their government, should assume a major share of the responsibility and task of meeting this need.

General Resolution on Economic Collaboration

We note such acts of our government as that reported by Under Secretary of State Welles at Rio de Janeiro on January 15, 1942, that "It is the policy of the United States to aid in maintaining the economic stability of the other American republics by recognizing and providing for their essential civilian needs on the basis of equal and proportionate consideration with our own"; also the provisions of Article 7 of the Anglo-American Pact of February 26, 1942, calling for "post-war participation, by all countries of like mind, directed to the expansion, by appropriate international and domestic measures, of production, employment and exchanging consumption of goods which are the material foundations of the liberty and welfare of all peoples; to the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barriers." We instruct the officers of this conference to communicate to our government our deep satisfaction with such acts. The spirit evidenced thereby is, in our judgment, that which must come to permeate the life of nations if they are to achieve a just and durable peace.

The Social Bases of a Just and Durable Peace

Principles

WE ARE CONVINCED that the present struggle of the nations is not just another war in the history of mankind. It is the upheaval of the old order and the birth of a new. The relationships of men will never again be the same, nor should they be the same, for they have not been founded on the eternal truths of God.

Therefore we affirm that whatever peace settlements are presented to the peoples of the world should express the following principles:

1. Man is a child of God and all men are brothers one of another. The church in its long established missionary work recognizes its responsibility to bring all men into full relationship as children of God.

2. Mankind is one in nature and in the sight of God. No group of men is inherently superior or inferior to any other, and none is above any other beloved of God.

3. The whole earth is given by God and to all men for their common dwelling place, and the resources of the earth should be used as his gifts to the whole human family.

4. All men should be free to move over the surface of the earth under international agreement, in search of the fullest opportunity for personal development.

5. Freedom of religious worship, of speech and assembly, of the press, of the arts, and of scientific inquiry and teaching should be available to all men everywhere.

Relief and Rehabilitation

The present mass suffering of the world requires action on the part of the church in America far beyond anything yet undertaken. Six million young men in the prison camps of the world; scores of millions of refugees—homeless, helpless, starving; whole regions subjected to slow starvation as a result of the policies of states—these and kindred areas of desperate suffering inflicted upon masses of innocent victims challenge the church to a demonstration of its basic doctrines of human solidarity and brotherhood in a potential family of God. They provide potent opportunities for creating even now, in the midst of war, responses of good will and solid grounds for enduring fellowship.

Toward a World Community

The nations of the world are passing through the crucible of fire and sword. National cultures which have enriched and given meaning to millions of people are in danger of extinction. No nation can escape this crisis. Those nations which, amid the purifying days of suffering, rediscover or preserve their souls from disintegration under the heel of the invader, from the despair of defeat, or from the pride and boastfulness of victory, will be ready to reconstruct their own national life and that of the world upon the ruins of today.

The sovereign power of the nation-state is being modified by economic, political and military forces which demand a new social order. It will be impossible to return to such extreme practices of national sovereignty as have prevailed during recent decades. **We believe that the state is a form of political organization which can and should be modified to**

meet the needs of the peoples of the world in the emerging situation. At the same time, however, we believe that different peoples have their distinctive places in the divine economy and that any world must look toward unity in diversity and not to general internationalism and cosmopolitanism. If we would avoid a superficial solution to the world's needs, we must come to recognize the distinction between those cultural values that center around the people, or folk, on the one hand, and the political state and government on the other.

We, the members of the American churches, and a part of the world-wide Christian community, believe that the Christian churches in those countries where they are an inherent part of its nation's life, have a task to perform not only in helping to preserve and restore the national spiritual unity of their people but also in relating their people to the larger family of nations.

We believe that no matter what world scheme for political and economic organization may be devised to meet the demands of the modern world, at the heart of such a plan there must be developed an "international ethos" which not only springs from the loyalties of the people to their own nation, but includes their relationship to the welfare of mankind as a whole.

We believe that the Christian church, because of its universal gospel, its positive world view and its deep concern for both the individual and the nation stands on the threshold of its greatest opportunity to bear witness to the reality of the world Christian community and to manifest in sacrificial living a spirit through which a suffering, broken humanity can be transformed into a world community.

Race Relations and Cultures

Among the primary factors in the maintenance of a just and durable peace will be equitable treatment of all racial groups that make up the world's population. **Therefore the securing of justice now for racial groups is essential if America is to make its full contribution in securing a just and durable peace.**

We acknowledge with profound contrition the sin of racial discrimination in American life and our own share, though we are Christians, in the common guilt. So long as our attitudes and policies deny peoples of other races in our own or other lands the essential position of brothers in the common family of mankind we cannot safely be trusted with the making of a just and durable peace.

In our own country millions of people, especially American Negroes, are subjected to discrimination and unequal treatment in educational opportunities, in employment, wages and conditions of work, in access to professional and business opportunities, in housing, in transportation, in the administration of justice and even in the right to vote. We condemn all such inequalities and call upon our fellow Christians and fellow citizens to initiate and support measures to establish equality of status and treatment of members of minority racial and cultural groups.

Some local current outrages that have national significance and therefore international effects in the attitudes of other peoples are the recent Missouri lynching and the rioting in Detroit over the Sojourner Truth Housing Project.

The conference adopted the following:

Under Relief and Rehabilitation:

To rise adequately to a sense of its God-given mission, the church must:

1. Make vivid in the consciousness of its entire membership the awful reality of this agony—mass in extent, but personal in intensity.

2. Provide continual opportunity for material giving on the part of every member, to the point of genuine sacrifice, as a requisite of Christian living.

3. Recognize cooperating agencies approved by the Committee on Foreign Relief Appeals in the Churches as existing channels for a world-wide ministry of compassion.

(1) War Prisoners' Aid of the World's Committee of the Y.M.C.A.

(2) Central Bureau for Relief of the Evangelical Churches of Europe.

(3) Church Committee for China Relief.

(4) American Bible Society.

(5) American Friends Service Committee.

(6) Y.W.C.A. World Emergency Fund.

(7) American Committee for Christian Refugees.

(8) International Missionary Council.

4. Recognize responsibilities for cooperation with government in areas of rehabilitation which concern the church but transcend its normal functions. Such areas include the moving of populations, the restoration of the cultural life of peoples, the resettling of refugees, the return and rehabilitation of prisoners of war, and the reintegration into civilian life of men in the armed forces and the civilian public service camps.

The malnutrition and slow starvation of millions of innocent victims of war in conquered countries is heavy upon our Christian consciences. Although we have not reached agreement as to immediate remedial measures to be urged upon governments, we request the Federal Council of Churches to continue its exploration with the governmental authorities with a view to finding practicable means for alleviating these situations.

5. Prepare now for the tasks of rehabilitation at the end of the war. Such preparation might well include the following:

(a) Relate present war relief giving to the continuing need which the end of the war will not terminate but only more clearly reveal.

(b) Develop courses and emphases in church schools and young people's programs regarding the problems of reconstruction which will prepare our youth for their responsibility. Specialized training should be provided for those people who may be called to serve in reconstruction abroad.

(c) Urge missionary societies to maintain intact, so far as is possible, their field organizations and personnel for large-scale and effective reconstruction.

(d) Ask missionary agencies to emphasize a thorough grounding in the technique of relief and rehabilitation for all candidates in training for missionary service.

Under Toward a World Community:

We urge among some of the problems for further study by church people the following statements:

1. The highest ethical principles which in their operation have hitherto been limited to community and national relationships should now be so extended as to apply in the field of international relations.

2. The problem confronting the world is how to substitute for the idea of self-preservation of the individual state a concept of world order which will recognize the primary importance of the society of nations, and the principle that the good of the whole takes precedence over the good of the part, since the highest and ultimate good of the part is itself so largely conditioned by the good of the whole.

3. Whatever may be the political, economic or military form of world organization, for the preservation of a just and durable peace, the rights and duties of peoples to maintain their full cultural freedom must be preserved.

Many of the Christian churches in the lands of the conquerors and the conquered have during tragic days remained faithful to the Master. With the central message of the Cross, they have succored the souls of their peoples and have kept them from despair. They have pointed to the God-imposed duty of every people, no matter how small or how large, of whatever race or creed, to go the way of repentance, obedience and complete consecration to His will.

Under Race Relations and Culture:

1. We commend the President of the United States for his executive action directed toward the elimination of discrimination in industry and the public services against Negroes and persons of other racial and national origin. We urge that in further pursuit of this policy Negro Americans be given suitable recognition in the administrative and judicial departments of the government.

2. We call our fellow Christians to witness that it is in the nature of the church that Negro men and women and those belonging to other racial and national minorities should be welcomed into the membership, administrative personnel and fellowship of our churches, local and national. We urge individual Christians and the corporate body of the Church of Christ to take up the cross of courageous service in action which deals with the problems of race and color in our land.

3. The modern confusion of culture and race has grown out of the belief that culture is a product of biological heredity and that Anglo-European culture is superior because it has sprung from superior human strains. We believe that all racial groups have contributed outstanding cultural gifts to civilization and that the exchange of such gifts has enriched all mankind. A just and durable peace should provide and insist upon a framework that allows more opportunity for creative expression of all groups and for greater exchange of such cultural creations in the field of music, art, medicine and literature. Assimilation of

culture does not mean amalgamation of racial stocks.

4. We appeal to our fellow citizens to recognize now the crucial importance of justice in race relations in our own country as paving the way for the wider recognition of it which will be essential to world peace. **Our attitudes toward other racial groups have all too frequently prevented the operation of justice in the past. We remind our fellow Christians of the appeal of the Japanese for recognition of racial equality at the time of the Versailles Peace Conference. The refusal of that plea is recognized as a factor contributing to the breakdown of peace. We would now commit ourselves to the task of protecting the rights of American-born citizens of Oriental parentage, who are likely to suffer evil consequences unnecessarily because of racial prejudice and discrimination in our attitudes toward Asiatics.**

5. We endorse the proposal that the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America set up a commission for the study of racial and cultural problems in American life as a necessary measure to support our effort for a just and durable peace among the nations. It is imperative that we put our own house in order so that we can contribute effectively to a sound organization of international life. To that end we need continuous study, interpretation and a device to guard our churches in facing the opportunities and duties of racial and cultural adjustment in the present crisis, both at home and abroad.

6. Also, when further statements of peace aims are made, we ask our government to clarify in more detail its peace aims toward recognizing social equality, opportunity and aid for migration, and protection of religious, political, racial and cultural minorities.

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Cleveland Organizes to Get Jobs for Negroes—Morse Calls for Unity Among American Churches

(Correspondence from Northern Ohio)

CLEVELAND, March 5.—Encouraged by U. S. employment service officials, a minority groups' council is in process of formation here to combat discriminations against persons of Negro, Jewish, German and Italian descent in the city's wartime industries. The move resulted from a closed conference with Washington representatives of the administration's fair employment practices committee by delegates from some 25 Cleveland organizations. Edward L. Keenan, chairman of the War Production Board's regional labor supply committee, who convened the first conference, classified as "unwarranted phobia" the reasons given by most employers for not accepting workers from the groups involved. He said failure to "make full use of the nation's man power in every form" was injuring the war production effort. The new council will present cases of alleged discrimination to government officials and will meet with employers in attempts to convince them of the value to the war effort of these workers.

* * *

Charges Liquor Board With Non-Cooperation

Detective Captain Michael J. Blackwell, head of the vice squad, has charged that the Ohio state liquor board fails frequently to cooperate by punishing cafés and night clubs against which evidence of violations has been obtained and citations made by Cleveland police. This explains the continued operation of offenders found guilty in police court. Offenses calling for state action include selling liquor on Sundays and after legal hours, housing prostitutes, selling liquor to non-members of private clubs, using cafés and night clubs for recording wagers, exhibiting and using slot machines and suffering gambling. Captain Blackwell's squad has succeeded in virtually eliminating all public evidences of vice since several night clubs were placed "out of bounds" by military authorities some weeks ago.

* * *

Worship Seminar Attracts Large Attendance

More than 200 Protestant ministers and church workers from Cleveland and vicinity attended the second seminar on worship under joint auspices of the commission on worship of the Federal Council of Churches, the Cleveland church federation and the ministerial association. The theme, "Worship and Aids to the Spiritual Life in a Time of War," was discussed and illustrated by Earl Enyeart Harper of the University of Iowa, Ralph C. McAfee of Erie, Pa., and Carl C. Rasmussen of the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. Oscar Thomas Olson, pastor of Epworth-Euclid Methodist Church, where the conference was held, arranged the program as chairman of the Federal Council commission and chairman of the local committee on worship. Dr. Harper directed a concluding hymn festival service.

* * *

Morse Calls for Advance In Christian Unity

Speaking before the 31st annual meeting of the Cleveland church federation, Hermann N. Morse, administrative secretary of the Presbyterian Board of National Missions, asked for immediate development of a larger measure of cooperation and unitary ecumenicity for the tasks God has placed upon the churches. The dangers, he said, are that society will discount anything less than a common voice and a common mind and that cooperation will lag behind public sentiment. David K. Ford, chairman of the federation's financial campaign, announced that $23,300 had been raised toward the 1942 goal of $30,000. The first three weeks of united Protestant noonday Lenten services have shown a marked increase in attendance over last year.

* * *

Nun Charges Comics Peril All Youth

Sister Mary Clare of Notre Dame Convent recently told members of the Cleveland Civic Association that certain "comic" magazines widely read by children lead to a cruel totalitarian philosophy of force, create a disrespect for law and stimulate illicit sex behavior on the part of habitual readers. She predicted that, unless they were curbed, they would dangerously influence American life by 1980. The association, consisting of representatives of several Protestant, Catholic and Jewish women's societies, clubs and civic agencies, has announced that it will call a public meeting to discuss the matter further.

* * *

Set Up Puppet Rulers Here, Urges Adamic

Only re-education of the nations of Europe in the ways of democracy will down the totalitarian idea, Louis Adamic, authority and writer on immigrant populations, told the City Club forum a few days ago. He proposed the setting up in America of provisional governments for European nations, composed of American immigrants from the respective countries. These governments would be sent to Europe at the war's end to assure the establishment of democracy through a federal union of continental nations.

* * *

Last Chance in India, Says Singh

The next day Anup Singh, director of the research bureau of the India League of America, speaking on "Britain's Last Chance in India" before the Community Religious Hour, described the situation as so serious as to jeopardize an Allied victory in the Orient unless something is done at once to break the deadlock between Britain and the Indian nationalists. He suggested that President Roosevelt use his prestige "once more" in behalf of the Indian people.

O. M. WALTON.

Hold Murder Not Lynching

Carolinas Regret Two Lynchings Were Ascribed to them—South Carolina Plans Church Fellowship

(Correspondence from the Carolinas)

DAVIDSON, N. C., March 14.—Tuskegee credits North and South Carolina with one lynching apiece last year. Editorial comment questions this. Is a gang murder to be counted a lynching? Both cases were of this sort. In the Gastonia case, though it was cold-blooded murder, it could hardly be called a lynching. A carload of drinking white men, looking for trouble, insulted a Negro and his girl friend. The white men pursued them to the man's home, from which his mother kept them off with a shotgun. That night they went back, called the man out and shot him down. They were arrested but given fairly light sentences, the heaviest being less than 20 years. Responsible local opinion condemns not only the murder but the lightness of the penalty, yet feels that to call this a lynching would justify giving that term to all the gang murders from New York to San Francisco.

* * *

Beal Paroled From Prison

Fred Erwin Beal, the Communist organizer of the Gastonia textile strike of 1929, has been paroled from the Raleigh penitentiary. During that strike Gastonia's police chief was shot, and Beal, with six others accused of the killing, was convicted of second degree murder. Released on bond pending an appeal, Beal fled to Russia. His disillusionment with that country he recorded in a famous article in the *American Mercury*. After his return to America, he remained in hiding for a time, but later surrendered to North Carolina authorities. A parole hearing was held about 18 months ago, at which hundreds of letters were presented asking for clemency. Governor Hoey, having been the "special prosecutor" at Beal's trial, denied the application for parole, but commuted his sentence to 10-to-13 years. Governor Hoey's successor, J. M. Broughton, finally granted the parole.

* * *

Probe Treatment Of Insane

Tom P. Jimison, the lawyer-minister who helped defend Beal at his famous trial, is still crusading, but in a different cause. This time it is the state's forgotten people, the patients at the state hospital for the insane, who have been championed by Jimison's well pointed pen. A series of articles published in several of the more progressive newspapers, giving facts in abundance, have shown serious deficiencies at Morganton and have aroused such general indignation that the government has been prodded into action. A full-dress

investigation has been called by the governor. It is safe to predict that the committee chosen will, after the manner of its numerous predecessors, report that all is well at the Morganton hospital. The fault is, after all, not with the administration at Morganton, which stretches pennies further than might be expected, but with the people of the state and the legislators, who have never given the hospital authorities even their modest askings.

* * *

Murder Capital Ready to Surrender Crown

Charlotte is no longer the murder capital of the world. That doubtful crown seems likely to pass to some other city. At all events, Charlotte had only 25 murders in 1941 as against 46 in 1940. The improvement is due in the main to aroused public sentiment and sensitiveness, working out at one end of the scale in better provision for Negro children, and at the other end in stricter enforcement of law in Negro districts.

* * *

South Carolina Plans an Interchurch Fellowship

An unofficial group of ministers from five denominations in South Carolina met in mid-February to discuss the possibilities for some kind of interdenominational fellowship to bring closer together the various churches of the state. Baptist, Christian, Episcopal, Methodist and Presbyterian churches were represented. After the organization and work of the North Carolina fellowship of churches had been described by its secretary, E. J. Arnold, the general idea of a similar fellowship in South Carolina was unanimously endorsed. Plans for more definite and official organization are being made, including a study of the question whether to include Negro churches in the fellowship.

* * *

And So Forth

White population is increasing over colored population in South Carolina. In 1930 the population of that state was 45.7 per cent Negro, 54.3 per cent white. In 1940, the Negroes totaled 43 per cent, the whites 57 per cent. In 1941, there were 22,585 white births, 21,901 Negro births, 9,049 white deaths, 10,989 Negro deaths.

In Durham and other towns ministers are using bicycles instead of cars for their pastoral calls.

All colleges in this region are making it possible for students to graduate in three years. The University of North Carolina is offering to accept selected boys who have still a year to go in high school, but other colleges have so far not followed this lead.

A meeting was called early in March to consider ways and means of starting a religious paper representing the extreme conservative view among Southern Presbyterians. Since the death of J. B. Hutton, and with him of his *Mississippi Visitor*, no church paper in that denomination quite represents that point of view.

Holmes Rolston has come to the ministry of the West Avenue Presbyterian Churches in Charlotte. Known throughout his denomination as a theologian, he recently delivered the Sprunt lectures at Union Seminary in Richmond, on the "Social Teaching of Saint Paul."

KENNETH J. FOREMAN.

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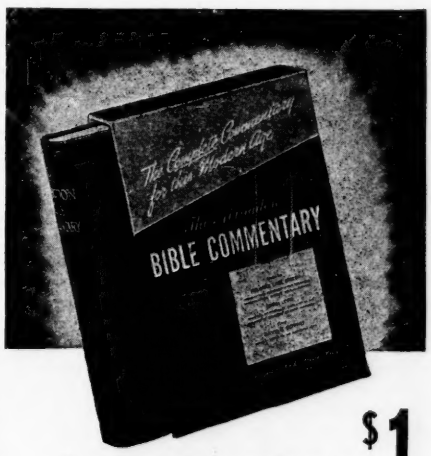

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Memphis Sets Up Probation Group

Organizes to Protect Juvenile Delinquents—Judge Condones Whipping in School—Stanley Jones to Speak

(Correspondence from Memphis)

MEMPHIS, Tenn., March 14.—Recognizing that delinquency increases during and after war, Memphians are organizing the Tennessee Probation Association. Judge Camille Kelly, who is nationally known for her 22 years' service as judge of the juvenile court of Memphis, is leading in this movement. She had helped 40,000 boys and girls to get back on the road to normal citizenship. Out of these myriads of intimate human contacts she has developed a clear philosophy and a practical method which have yielded astonishing results. A book telling her story will be issued by Dodd, Mead next month under the title, *A Friend at Court.* In her fine work Judge Kelly has had no abler assistant than Mrs. Julia Hooks, who died last week in the Negro old folks' home at the age of 90. Her husband, a truant officer, was killed in 1917 by a delinquent Negro boy whom he was trying to arrest. Mrs. Hooks taught W. C. Handy, "the daddy of the Blues," when he first came to Memphis from Mississippi. Born in Kentucky of a musician mother who had been given her freedom at 16, Mrs. Hooks herself became a noted musician and teacher. She founded the home in which she died and paid for it by giving concerts. She frequently sat on the bench with Judge Kelly, who often paid tribute to her as "the perfect keeper of the detention home."

* * *

Whipping Condoned As Discipline

A peripatetic evangelist, J. G. Lynch, became chaplain of our State Training and Agricultural School for Delinquent Boys and soon was promoted to the superintendency. Last week he was under fire charged with permitting whipping, slugging and other brutalities, but was exonerated. A Memphis teacher was in court this week for whipping a ten-year-old Negro child with a strap 16 inches long and an inch wide. The judge upheld the teacher, saying that he didn't think such a strap improper if not too severely used. The consequences of this decision in encouraging cruelty remain to be seen.

* * *

Relief Cut While Income Jumps

WPA will drop 1,000 men in west Tennessee this month. NYA is dropping 500 Memphis students. Eight more counties will place the food stamp plan in effect this month to aid the needy. Memphis poor bought $60,000 worth of food with these stamps last month. In the same paper Memphis bank deposits are reported to have jumped from $196,000,000 to $249,000,000 during the past six months. Some $276,000,000 in war contracts was awarded to Tennessee during the same period. During the biennium Tennessee has reduced its debt by nearly $12,000,000. Living costs have increased 14 per cent in Memphis since last fall and even the Memphis Housing Authority has upped rentals. The mayor is begging for more city gardens and the *Commercial Appeal,* which inaugurated the "Plant to Prosper" movements in the midsouth, now has 78 other newspapers supporting its "Live-at-Home" program. The Memphis Cotton Carnival has discontinued for the duration, though "the south's greatest party" in 1941 broke all records.

* * *

Rector Secures Charter For University

I. H. Noe, the Episcopal rector who fasted 22 days in 1938 and was removed by Bishop Maxon from the deanship of St. Mary's Cathedral, announced today the receipt of a charter to operate his "University of Practical Living" which will have four colleges—the colleges of universal religion, universal political science, universal economics and universal racial understanding. There are 21 incorporators and Mr. Noe says 160 students are already enrolled. Of course the "university" has no academic standing, so far as the state is concerned, and local people look upon the project with skepticism.

* * *

Stanley Jones to Speak In Memphis

There are now five vacant Presbyterian pulpits in Memphis. Albert Sidney Johnson has been engaged by First Church as stated supply for three months. Pres. E. K. Reagin was re-elected yesterday for another term at the Cumberland Presbyterians' Bethel College at McKenzie. The Memphis ministers' association announced today the engagement of E. Stanley Jones to conduct a retreat here in early June. The Baptist men of Memphis will hold their annual banquet March 27 and Pat M. Neff, former governor of Texas and now president of Baylor University, will be the speaker.

* * *

And So Forth

The labor pot is boiling in this area. A WLB official is here from Washington to mediate the dispute between the Buckeye Cotton Oil Company and the C.I.O. union. A demonstration-of-strength meeting was announced by the white members of this union and five men came. Fuel has been added to the fire by an article from J. C. Sheffield of Helena, Ark., which the *Commercial Appeal* ran as an editorial. Thousands of reprints have been circulated by many groups.

In Mississippi Charles G. Hamilton, Episcopal rector who is a member of the legislature, has offered a resolution endorsing Roosevelt and McNary as candidates for 1944.

The legislature has just taken a step which promises to rid Mississippi colleges of politics. Henceforth no governor can appoint more than four members to the board of trustees.

In Arkansas workers on the Pine Bluff arsenal have petitioned Donald Nelson for relief from house rent exploiters.

The FBI is investigating the charge that state officers are holding prisoners in peonage under the Arkansas parole system which has plagued every governor of the state for years.

MARSHALL WINGFIELD.

Study Juvenile Crime Increase

Newspapers Deride Efforts to Meet Crime Wave—Lutherans Hail Unity Plan—Cold to College Speedup

(Correspondence from Chicago)

CHICAGO, March 16.—Chicago is concerned over the increase of crime since the outbreak of war in December. December ranked highest in the year for manslaughters, robberies, burglaries and auto thefts. Chicago has disproportionately high insurance rates because of an inadequate police force. Schools and welfare workers are taking warning from the experience of England where the first 12 months of the war brought an increase of 44 per cent in offenses by children under 14 and 22 per cent increase in offenses by children 14 to 17. These leaders are bent on devising methods to allay this moral and mental instability. The press, which has been engaged in whipping up war fever, labeled a recent conference of social workers on this subject "applesauce."

* * *

Rabbis Aid Church to Observe Passover

The Warren Avenue Congregational Church on March 11 observed the Jewish Passover with all its traditional rites, having members of the Washington Boulevard Temple as guests and Rabbis Samuel Schwartz and Gunter Plaut as officiants. Children of the Warren Avenue congregation asked the customary questions about the meaning of the service and these were answered by the rabbis. A joint women's committee of the two congregations prepared and served the supper. Following the Passover service, Charles C. Hoskinson, pastor of the Warren Avenue church, interpreted to the congregation how the ceremony had become the Christian sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

* * *

Missouri Lutherans Consider Unity

The eagerly awaited comment of the Missouri Lutheran Church on the proposed American Lutheran Convention, which would unite all Lutheran groups in the present National Lutheran Council into a working federation and would look forward to full unity at the end of the war, is given in the March 3 issue of the *Lutheran Witness,* official organ of the Missouri Lutheran Church. The statement is quite irenic. "What shall we say [to the forthcoming invitation to participate]? This subject of Lutheran union will not down, nor should it either. The sons of Luther should endeavor to be joined together in fellowship. It is not their first duty, but is one of their duties. In undertakings of this kind, unity and not mere outward union, faithfulness to the confessions and not external impressiveness, must be the thing for which we strive."

* * *

University Speedup Not Welcome to Students

Arthur Cutts Willard, president of the University of Illinois, presented a report to

the board of trustees of the university this past week in which he declared that the proposal to speed up the training of engineers, chemists, doctors and other needed professional workers by shortened terms and continuous instruction is not meeting with general acceptance on the part of students. Out of 58 students in chemical engineering, only 9 indicated that they would continue in the university through the summer. The need to secure funds by summer work and the desire to spend at least a part of their time in home surroundings before being called into military service are given as the chief reasons for their attitude.

* * *

Church Surmounts Change in Parish

J. Franklin Clancy, pastor of Union Avenue Methodist church, celebrated his 25th year as pastor of this congregation and the 59th anniversary of his ordination to the ministry. This church is a typical example of Protestant life here. Once the center of a fashionable community and supported by families of wealth, it now finds itself in a populous community of underprivileged people. Some of the families connected with the early history of the church have continued their interest, sensing their social responsibilities and the exceptional religious opportunities through an institution such as this. Some years ago the Swift family made possible the building of a large community center in connection with the church. Through this the undaunted spirit of the veteran pastor marches on in perhaps the most fruitful period of his service.

* * *

Penitent Objector Gets Three-year Sentence

David R. Nyvall, Jr., who refused to register for Selective Service but under the pleading of his parents reconsidered and registered, was sentenced by U. S. Judge William J. Campbell to be placed on probation for three years. In delivering his verdict, the judge declared: "The court is convinced that certain groups are responsible for your predicament. You shall have no further contact with them."

* * *

And So Forth

Mrs. George Markstall, formerly Lucy Parsons, widow of Albert R. Parsons who was hanged in 1887 for his part in the bloody Haymarket riots, blind and 83 years of age, perished this week in a fire at her home.

A headline on the financial page of a Chicago paper this past week read, "Pork ceiling news puts hog upswing in reverse."

Chicago reached and passed its original $3,750,000 quota for the Red Cross last Monday. Some 1,250,000 donors are represented in the gifts to date.

Some 540 Chicago relief clients found work in February but 41 were dismissed from the relief rolls for refusal to accept private employment.

CHARLES LESLIE VENABLE.

The Economist Favors Land Nationalization

The *London Economist,* authoritative financial journal, has recently endorsed the principle of nationalization of all land in Britain as a means of furthering post-war reconstruction.

Iowa Pastors Cut Travel on Tires

Shortage Hits Attendance at State Meetings—'Tribune' Editor Honored by Round Table

(Correspondence from Iowa)

DES MOINES, March 10.—The recent Iowa convocation of ministers, held at University Church of Christ here, was gratifying in the quality of its program, disappointing in attendance. William Clayton Bower of the University of Chicago gave some magnificent addresses in the field of Christian education. Oswald W. S. McCall of Chicago performed equally valuable service in the field of preaching. Likewise, the addresses of Seward Hiltner, secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, on counseling were of a high order. The smaller attendance seems chargeable to the zero weather and to war restrictions on tires. It is doubtful whether a session will be held next year if the war continues. The new president is Charles Thomas, pastor of the First Friends Church of Des Moines.

* * *

Presbyterians Meet At Coe College

About 75 Presbyterian pastors met Feb. 26-27 at Coe College, in Cedar Rapids, which is closely affiliated with the Presbyterian Church. Andrew W. Blackwood, of Princeton Theological Seminary, delivered three lectures on "Preaching from the Bible," and Ilion T. Jones, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Iowa City, gave two on "The Church and International Reconstruction." The conference was in charge of David I. Berger of Coe College, and followed directly upon the program of religious emphasis week, with Theodore G. Lilley, of the First Presbyterian Church of Sioux City, as principal speaker. This present week is religious emphasis week at Simpson College, Indianola. James S. Chubb, of Baldwin, Kan., is guest preacher.

* * *

College Established for Academic Also-Rans

Tabor College, Tabor, Iowa, admits only students whose standing placed them in the lower one-fourth of their high school class. The president is Robert Enlow O'Brian, Methodist pastor, once president of Morningside College and a former secretary of state for Iowa. Last winter when he became president of Tabor, the college was about to close. Dr. O'Brian was given full authority to choose a board of trustees and a faculty sympathetic with his purposes. He notified all former students not to reregister. He then announced the basis of enrollment. The college opened again last September with 12 students. Dr. O'Brian plans to add 26 new students each semester until he has 200. This novel experiment rests on faith in the possibilities that often lie in this lower one-fourth. The president calls attention to the fact that Henry Ford's parents were advised by the high school authorities that he wasn't worth educating; that Thomas A. Edison was dismissed from the eighth grade; and, *mirabile*

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dictu! that Einstein once flunked mathematics.

* * *

Round Table Honors Waymack

Under the auspices of the local round table of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, a dinner was held in Des Moines on Feb. 27. Dr. Everett Clinchy, president of the National Conference, was present as main speaker. He presented a citation honoring W. W. Waymack, editor of the *Des Moines Register and Tribune,* who unfortunately was called to Washington and could not be present. Since the organization of the local round table ten years ago, Mr. Waymack has been active serving as one of the local directors. Alfred Severson, secretary of the local round table, presided. Addresses were given by Rabbi Eugene Mannheimer and Bishop Bergan of the Catholic diocese, and by Willard Johnson of St. Louis, former secretary of the local round table. Mr. Johnson pointed out that the Des Moines round table has done valuable pioneering work, being instrumental in the setting up of the present five-state organization. During the recent Brotherhood Week, his office arranged 175 community programs and 120 radio programs.

* * *

3,000 Disciples Youth Meet

The Disciples churches over the state sponsored on Washington's birthday a series of 21 youth fellowship meetings. The total attendance at these rallies ran over 3,000. In the city here, the Disciples churches are carrying on a concerted plan of pre-Easter evangelism. M. O. Kellison, of Ponca City, Okla., was here for the setup. On March 1, a new Disciples church was started in Des Moines for colored people—the only such here. This is sponsored under the direction of a committee representing the various Disciples interests. The pastor is Cyril Morris. Mr. Morris, who is a senior at Drake University, is a native of Jamaica.

* * *

And So Forth

With the beginning of the present semester, a new dean assumed charge of the fine arts college of Drake University, succeeding Dean Herbert Gould, who is now professor of voice at the University of Missouri. He is Dr. Frank B. Jordan, who comes to Drake from Illinois Wesleyan University.

John Newton Garst has resigned the pastorate of the First Baptist Church here and goes this month to the First Baptist Church of Schenectady, N. Y.

WARREN C. TAYLOR.

Missionaries Remain in Conquered Territory

There are today 1,454 American missionaries remaining in countries occupied or attacked by Japanese armies—754 in penetrated China, 430 in the Philippines, 68 in Japan, 21 in Korea, 3 in Manchuria, 43 in Indo-China, 45 in Thailand, 52 in Malaya, and 38 in the Netherlands East Indies.

Gallup Poll Shows Rise In Dry Sentiment

On Feb. 14 the Gallup Poll published its finding that 36 per cent of the people of the country favor national prohibition.

Big Change Due In India Policy

Cripps Appointment Expected to Bring Revision—His Leadership Welcomed —Garvin Retires from 'Observer'

(Correspondence from England)

KETTERING, March 2.—The government have nothing more urgent and nothing more important for the longtime policy than to approach the problem of India with a fresh and bold statesmanship. We understood from Sir Stafford Cripps that India would receive serious attention from the new team. Much rethinking is needed. There is a strong tide of feeling against what is known as "Vansittartism." In a little book, *Shall Our Children Live or Die?* Victor Gollancz, the publisher, has passionately attacked it. "As a human being," he says, "I will not be beaten in the fortress of my humanity by Hitler. I refuse to hate him. And as the Jews are the special object of his hatred, as a Jew I doubly refuse."

* * *

Cripps Creates New Hope

The coming of Sir Stafford Cripps into the war cabinet is not a case of redisposition in the members of the team. His appointment is a sign of a new beginning, and is almost universally welcomed. He is the man needed to cooperate with the prime minister and to add something of his own. The House of Commons heard his first speech with evident good will and approval. War has once more shown its power to raise those who for the time being at least are cast down. Sir Stafford has been for years an advocate unsurpassed in the law courts. Those who did not like his political views eagerly sought him to accept their briefs. But politically he was for long a stormy petrel. Perhaps it is a stormy petrel the country needs.

* * *

Refuses to Debate With Critics

He spoke at the end of a long and extremely outspoken debate in which a large place was given to those who were critical of the government. It was their debate, and they had much ground to cover, especially in their attack upon unpreparedness in the East, lack of coordination in the channel battle, and the need of a much more ascetic life for all of us. In his reply Sir Stafford was not at all disposed to debate. He interpreted his position of leader of the House in a way which appealed at once to its members. He has for his object to interpret the views of the House to the war cabinet, and also the views of the war cabinet to the House. He called for austerity in our ways of living and unity in our counsels. But beyond all that he has said there is in his appointment a pledge that in the policy of the war the part of Russia will be understood.

* * *

Great Editor Retires

An editor once said to me: "I am satisfied to be conductor of my orchestra. Garvin is not only conductor of the *Observer,* he is also its great soloist." Each number of the *Observer* was like a concerto with a masterpart for J. L. Garvin. Unlike other editors he ran the risk of signing his name freely to his work. It is a risk, for readers soon grow tired of seeing a name unless it is at the foot of something vivid, contemporary, startling with a thrill in it. Garvin certainly survived the perils. Now that he has retired it is admitted how great a triumph it was for a man to edit a Sunday paper for 34 years and all the time to be looked for as "J.L.G." He never minded being inconsistent and he never let the dead hand of the last number cramp him. Like a great journalist he improvised his work, and it was always fresh and always written without respect for persons. During his long life he has taken many sides in political strife, but for a long time now he has been counted an "independent conservative."

* * *

Corporation Dedicates A Chapel

Something unique took place last week in the business world of London. A chapel was dedicated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in Electra House, which is the headquarters of Cable and Wireless Limited. The provision was made, in answer to the wish of the staff, that a place might be set apart for meditation and prayer. The room takes the form of a chapel. The archbishop described how at the heart of this great corporation, which extends to every part of the world and employs 10,000 persons of 60 nationalities, there should be this "reminder of the eternal realities."

* * *

Bishop of Norwich Retires

The Bishop of Norwich is shortly to resign his see. He is 78 years of age. He had won for himself a good reputation as headmaster of Wellington when he was consecrated bishop of Norwich in 1910. He is not in any narrow sense a party man, but he has always been ready to show his own sympathy with the evangelical tradition in the Church of England. For some years past he has written in the *Sunday Times* short and very practical homilies. In one published last Sunday he exhorted his readers who are called to a supreme effort to champion the great things entrusted to them "to be careful, perhaps more in private life than in our public duties, not to spoil the nobility of our response."

* * *

New Archbishops Are Both Madras Mission-Minded

It is worthy of note that both the newly appointed archbishops have had a direct and personal share in the international missionary service. Dr. Temple played a great part in the conference at Jerusalem in 1928, and in many other ways he has shown how in his mind this international work is vitally related to all that he sees to be needed by a Christian civilization at home. The new Archbishop of York, Dr. Garbett, was at Madras and is vice-chairman of the International Missionary Council.

* * *

New Opportunities For Missions

The C.M.S. secretary for Africa speaks of a growing volume of evidence that mis-

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sionaries are discovering in the interruption of normal conditions unusual opportunities for new enterprise. "The war is so upsetting the social life and habits of the native populations of Africa that the resources of government are being taxed beyond their limits. In different districts the governors are turning to the missionary societies for help, acknowledging the necessity of a Christian background to the interpretation of life and its problems."

* * *

Quakers Return To Prison

After an interval of 23 years a Quaker meeting for worship was held in Wormwood Scrubs prison. There were 28 who attended. John P. Fletcher, the Quaker "minister" at the prison, reported that the meeting was held in the large chapel and there was a deep feeling of worship.

* * *

Shipping Losses Very High

In the report of the chamber of shipping for last year the war losses of British, Allied and neutral shipping were given. The average monthly sinkings for the last six months of 1941 were about 180,000 tons gross or a total of rather more than 1,100,000. It is deduced that the total sinkings from the outbreak of war to the end of 1941 were about 8,000,000 gross. If to these totals are added from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 tons of enemy shipping it will be seen what a price on the sea has already been paid by the world.

* * *

Pacifists Work On the Land

An account has been issued by the *Christian Pacifist* of the two years' work of the Christian pacifist forestry and land units. There are now 653 members working in different fields of land employment, fire service and civil defense activity. In Kent a haunted building was taken and became the center of fellowship drawn from nearly all the Christian denominations.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

Rabbis Endorse Jewish Army in Palestine

By a vote of 102 to 38 the Central Conference of American Rabbis recently approved a resolution urging the formation of a Jewish army in Palestine. The resolution was opposed by four former presidents of the conference.

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Asks for Defense Jobs for Negroes

Kentuckian Says Discrimination Continues—Church Raises $800 for C.O.'s —Distilleries Still Consume Grain

(Correspondence from Kentucky)

BEREA, March 2.—Some 200 delegates to the annual meeting of the Kentucky council on interracial cooperation at Louisville heard Mark Ethridge, general manager of the *Courier-Journal* and *Louisville Times* and chairman of the President's committee on fair employment practice, charge that discrimination against Negroes, Jews and immigrants in defense employment is general and persistent, despite the fact that the President has characterized such practice as near-treason. Guilty parties include both employers and employees, and the policy of discrimination has been deliberate and general in every region of the nation. But none of these will admit that such discrimination is being practiced. While the committee has succeeded in placing about 40,000 of these excluded groups in industrial employ, Mr. Ethridge said, the problem is still acute.

* * *

Kentucky Towns May Buy Public Power

The Kentucky legislative assembly automatically adjourns March 3 after the warmest session in many a day. The bill attracting most attention was designed to allow municipalities and similar agencies to contract for TVA electricity. Although Kentucky is to have the largest of the TVA lakes, formed by the Gilbertsville dam, which in 1943 will impound a body of water 184 miles long covering 250,000 acres, the courts have ruled that present laws make it impossible for cities to contract for TVA power. The fight against a bill to allow them to do so was led by the privately owned Kentucky Utilities Company. It carried large ads in newspapers and promoted, especially in coal mining areas, a "letter to your legislator" campaign against the bill. Most members of the Public Service Commission openly opposed the legislation because they said the bill was badly drawn. Opposition crumbled when the governor, in an unprecedented action, appeared before the assembly to urge, in what many said was the greatest speech of his career, the passage of the bill. One legislator remarked that you cannot prevent people from preferring to pay $1.75 for electricity that has been costing them $4.

* * *

Church Supports C.O.'s, Is Charged with Disloyalty

On the day of the attack on Pearl Harbor, Union Church of Christ of Berea took up a previously planned offering for support of the Civilian Public Service Camps for conscientious objectors. It amounted to approximately $800—a surprisingly large amount in comparison with the annual budget of the church. The incident provoked charges of disloyalty from some within and without the congregation. Subsequently the church voted, with little dissent, to express to the President con-

fidence in his leadership and hope "for a righteous peace for all peoples," the word "peace" having been substituted for "victory" in the original proposal. Union Church has known controversy before. Founded in 1853 as a "free Church of Christ" open to Negroes and whites without segregation or discrimination in a slave state, its path has not always been smooth.

* * *

President Fired and College Gets Money

Peace has come to the educational ranks of the Baptists of Kentucky. By a secret ballot of 12 to 9, the trustees of Georgetown College voted not to extend the contract of Henry Noble Sherwood, president since 1934 of the only standard college in the state under Baptist auspices. As reported previously in these columns, Dr. Sherwood was opposed in the Kentucky Baptist convention, first on the ground that he had had only "Campbellite" baptism, then on the ground that the control of the college was vested in a board independent of the convention. Impounded funds of $47,235 designated for the college but withheld pending submission to the conditions required have now been released by the general association of Baptists in Kentucky.

* * *

Farmers Produce, but Distillers Consume

At the annual midwinter meeting of the farmers of western Kentucky at Murray, where increased farm production was urged, it was estimated that this year 25,000,000 acres in the nation more than in 1941 must be utilized for pasture and crops. In the winter number of *Kentucky*, the official publication of the commonwealth, the Kentucky distillers' association advertise that they consume annually 9,000,000 bushels of grain, which requires 500,000 acres of land to produce, and $500,000 worth of fine oak lumber for barrels, while they employ the entire services of 30,000 Kentucky workers.

* * *

Religious Emphasis Week At Berea College

Students of Berea College have recently been given a significant panoramic view of their world. Bernard Clausen, minister of the First Baptist Church of Pittsburgh, Pa., leader of the annual religious emphasis week, declared that the basic problem of this generation is to find a formula for human rights to control advancing technology. Sherwood Eddy assured his hearers that since love is the only absolute, one cannot absolutize violence or non-violence, hence both Christian pacifists and Christian militarists are right. Hon. Margaret Bondfield, minister of labor in Ramsay McDonald's first cabinet, reported that class lines are being broken down in England by the war. Joseph B. Hunter, returned Disciples missionary to Japan, affirmed the necessity for maintaining sympathetic understanding of Japanese liberals and especially of the Christian minority in Japan, since they furnish the hope of a reconstructed society which can cooperate with the democracies. M. Searle Bates, formerly of Nanking University, emphasized the magnificent character of the Chinese as shown in their building toward a technological and cooperative economy and the maintenance of cultural and educational institutions under the threat of extinction.

* * *

And So Forth

Hubert Herring spoke on Latin America and James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, was leader of the fifth annual interracial students' Conference on Southern Economic and Social Problems.

WALTER W. SIKES.

Treasury Seeks Funds Of Churches

The defense savings staff of the U. S. treasury department is now actively promoting the sale of defense savings bonds through churches. They now issue news releases to religious publications giving the names of churches which invest building and other church funds in defense savings bonds. Separate releases are issued for Protestant, Catholic and Jewish papers.

Christian Mission To Continue

Announcement has just been made that the National Christian Mission will continue next year its plan of reaching medium-sized cities. This year it has been in 44 cities of from 25,000 to 100,000 population; next year it expects to be in at least 25. It is likely that a series of 25 missions will be held in army camps.

Quakers Aid Japanese On West Coast

Three staff members of the American Friends Service Committee have been sent to the west coast to assist in caring for evicted Japanese, according to Clarence Pickett, secretary of the A.F.S.C.

Council Forms Group To Combat Racism

A commission has been formed by the Federal Council of Churches to "study democracy in racial and cultural relations in America." Its chief concern will be to overcome prejudice between racial and religious groupings.

Walser Interned In Tokyo

The name of Theodore D. Walser, Presbyterian missionary and Tokyo staff correspondent of The Christian Century, appeared in the list of 219 civilians interned in Japan which was released by the Inter-

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national Red Cross on March 15. Among other missionaries whose names we recognized in the list, which appeared without annotation, were Howard E. Hannaford, A. W. MacCoy and John C. Smith.

Liquor Consumes Huge Quantities of Grain

"Food is an essential war material," said President Roosevelt on Jan. 7, 1942. This "essential war material" is being used in large quantities in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The principal raw materials used by U. S. distilleries in making distilled spirits, not including alcohol, in 1941 were as follows, according to the Alcohol Tax Unit:

Corn	567,818 tons
Rye	180,979 tons
Malt	106,721 tons
Wheat	1,256 tons
Diamalt	118 tons
Molasses	3,528,000 gallons

The principal raw materials used by breweries in the United States, according to the Alcohol Tax Unit, were as follows:

Malt	977,134 tons
Corn and corn products	216,171 tons
Rice	102,149 tons
Sugars and sirups	67,766 tons
Hops and hop extracts	15,577 tons

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White Rule Must End, Says Indian

War Is to Build Universal Civilization, Says Indian Leader—Chinese Commends Gandhi—Racism Hit

(Correspondence from New York)

NEW YORK, March 16.—Over 1,400 officials and citizens of the United States, China, India, Canada, New Zealand and Great Britain were present at the dinner of the East and West Association held at Waldorf-Astoria Saturday evening. It celebrated China-India Friendship Day, a new holiday created when Chiang Kai-shek visited India. Wendell L. Willkie was chairman. The speakers included Senator Elbert D. Thomas, Dr. Anup Singh, Dr. Lin Yutang, Sir Shanmukhan Chetty, Ambassador Hu Shih and Pearl S. Buck.

* * *

Says Civilization Must Be Universal

The meeting recognized clearly that the fall of Singapore was the end of an era. Sir Shanmukhan warned that the American and European peoples must realize "that the days of their guardianship over the Asiatic people have come to an end. This war is for the preservation of all decent civilizations—Christian, Hindu, Islam, Buddhist—and all the great religions that have contributed to the civilization of the human race." Dr. Hu Shih welcomed "this new comradeship" between China and India, calling India an old teacher and friend and a new comrade in arms. "India and China should work together, fight together and rebuild our cultural life together," toward a new civilization which should be "neither Eastern nor Western but truly universal."

* * *

Chinese Commends Mr. Gandhi

Lin Yutang's address was noticeably absent from Sunday newspapers. There was a reason. He said: "We are fighting a fight for mere animal survival," but if we are to win we "must fight for an idea which the entire world can share: the freedom of all the peoples of the world." He asked, "How can Stalin trust England when the tories are still behind the premier of Great Britain?" He declared that "the problem of India becomes a test case when we say we are fighting for freedom. . . . World problems cannot be solved with a military mind or a political mind but with a human mind. . . . Churchill sees it as a political problem. Gandhi sees it as a moral problem. When we all see it from Gandhi's angle the solution will follow as surely as the day follows night."

* * *

Pearl Buck Says Racism Must Go

Pearl Buck, the president of the East and West Association, in the final address reiterated the prediction that "the white race never again will be dominant in the same way that it has been in the past. . . . People must be free, and if they are to be free as human beings they must be equal. Freedom will be established as a principle or it will be lost, not race by race or nation by nation, but as a human essence. It has taken the knowledge of what tyranny is to let us see what democracy must be. Democracy cannot fail. It must win!"

* * *

USO Reports on War Work

The United Service Organizations announced last week that $14,365,161 was pledged to its 1941 campaign. The statement asserted that during the course of its job the organization had found itself doing six special services requested by the war and navy departments "which were in neither the original program nor the budget. USO now has 407 clubhouses and 163 smaller units in operation as against the 339 service clubs originally projected."

* * *

Liberals Condemn Racism

The New York city liberal ministers' club recently voted that it "indignantly denounces and vigorously protests the continuing and increasing manifestations of discrimination in defense industry, in labor unions, in the nation's armed forces, in education and even among blood donors based on differences of race, color and creed. We declare such discrimination to be not only immoral and irreligious, but also contrary to every principle of democracy and Americanism." The second paragraph referred to "the arrogance of the American citizen of white skin" in denying equality to his African brethren. The final paragraph called upon "all religious and educational agencies to fight the evil of racial and religious discrimination."

Some 425 representatives of Congregational churches in the metropolitan area heard Halford E. Luccock speak at the annual Congregational dinner last Monday. His theme was "Walking Backward into the Future." Carl Weist of the Church at the Circle, Mt. Vernon, is moderator of New York Congregationalism.

* * *

Co-ops Prepare for Post-War Work

Formation of an International Committee for Cooperative Reconstruction, designed to assist in the rebuilding of cooperatives in war-torn countries after the war and to encourage the use of cooperative methods in general post-war reconstruction, was announced by the Cooperative League of the U.S.A. here this week. The committee is composed of a group of executives of cooperatives now in exile in America from the occupied countries in Europe, a number of American cooperative leaders, several noted economists and public figures and representatives of several countries outside Europe.

* * *

And So Forth

The first annual report of the British War Relief Society records gifts totaling $12,544,556. Of this amount $8,636,549 was cash. The balance was in kind. It came from 1,500,000 people of the United States.

The followers of Father Divine have bought a 250-room hotel near Atlantic city for "war refugees" either Negro or white, without discrimination, and in which there will be the rules of "no smoking, drinking or swearing."

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

Unity Move in British Churches

Paton Tells Federal Council of British Plans—Council Debates Publication of Delaware Report

(Special Correspondence)

NEW YORK, March 13.—On Friday last, William Paton of London, secretary of the International Missionary Council and of the World Council of Churches, spoke reassuringly to the executive committee of the Federal Council of the closer unity of churches among Christians in England. He outlined the plans for the British Council of Churches which is expected to be launched in the autumn. The new council takes in all the non-Catholic churches of England and Scotland. The council will have 150 members and an executive committee of 24, with social-ethical, international studies, youth, evangelism, Christian frontiers and Christian unity departments. Dr. Paton also pointed out that the development of total Christian effort, joining the free churches, the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church in common cause, is also advancing rapidly. This "Sword of the Spirit" movement is spreading rapidly with large mass gatherings.

Debate Printing of Delaware Findings

Considerable discussion arose over the question of the executive committee's approval of the printing of the report of the National Study Conference of the churches on a Just and Durable Peace held at Ohio Wesleyan University last week. Motions to postpone action were quickly cleared by adoption of substitutes involving immediate printing. After the report of a special committee, which met over the noon hour, it was decided to print the report "as a message from the National Study Conference." The conference "spoke only for itself and assumes full responsibility for the publication of its findings."

Chaplaincy, Japanese, Considered

Bishop A. W. Leonard, reporting for the commission on chaplains, stated that the government has requested 10,000 chaplains for an anticipated army of 10,000,000 men. Bishop James Cannon, Jr., introduced a strong resolution calling for the abolition of the twin evils of liquor and prostitution in camp communities. Albert Edward Day of California, vice-president of the Federal Council, sponsored a resolution calling upon the churches to help the Japanese and children of Japanese who are being evacuated from the west coast in resettlement.

Study Church's Employment Ethics

F. Ernest Johnson of the department of research and education of the council reported on the proposed study of the "policies and practices of church bodies and agencies in reference to employment of labor, investment and ministerial and lay salaries." The study is to learn the facts, not to suggest a policy. Jesse M. Bader announced the successful conclusion of the Christian Mission to 44 smaller cities. The commission on conscientious objectors reported that more than 2,000 are now in Civilian Public Service camps, 42 per cent paying their own expenses, the remainder being financed by the churches.

J. HENRY CARPENTER.

School Still Serves Starving Greeks

Word has reached New York that the American Farm School, a missionary project, is still carrying on its work at Thessalonica, and is caring for a greatly enlarged number of destitute children.

Paton Arrives in America By Atlantic Clipper

Dr. William Paton, general secretary of the World Council of Churches, arrived in New York on March 1, traveling by Clipper. He expects to return to England after a brief visit in America in the interest of the World Council of Churches. When he spoke in Chicago on March 7 he said: "I take an optimistic view of the war in that I believe in the final victory of the Allied Nations but I take a pessimistic view of the state of the world after the war. Nations will be filled with hatred and the spirit of revenge will be strong. The world task of the church will be vastly more difficult. The formation and growth of the World Council of Churches in such a time as this providentially provides a structure through which the church can face its responsibilities."

American Woman Wife of New Burma Premier

Lady Paw Tun, wife of the new premier of Burma, is a daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Edward H. Jewett of Cleveland Heights, Ohio, and a graduate of Ohio Wesleyan University. Sir Paw Tun fills the office vacated by U Saw, now in British custody.

War Profits Over 100 Per Cent

Chairman Byrd of the joint congressional economy committee reported, "The investigation conducted by the committee on non-defense expenditures will show that some profits are in excess of 100 per cent of capital invested." He predicted that a limitation on profits would save the government as much as $2,000,000 on war contracts.

Current Feature Films

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M—Mature. Y—Younger. C—Children. *Outstanding for Family. †Outstanding for Mature Audience.

Blondie Goes to College (Col.) Arthur Lake, Larry Simms, P. Singleton	*Comedy* based on popular comic strip, with Blondie and Dagwood enrolling in college, concealing marital state with comic results.	Perfectly naive and inconsequential, but characterized by human interest and inoffensive farce. *Trivial but pleasant.* M, Y
The Castle in the Desert (Fox) Sidney Toler, Sen Yung	*Melodrama.* Charlie Chan exercises usual deductive talents on a crime reminiscent of the Borgias.	Routine murder mystery, quite involved and with its plot solved by talk rather than action. *Indifferent detective fare.*
†**The Forgotten Village** (Pan-American Films, produced by John Steinbeck and Herbert Kline)	*Documentary* showing details of life in a remote Mexican village; its theme the conflict between superstition and modern public health methods in treatment of disease.	Film has been beautifully photographed and scored; the performances—by actual peasants, doctors, etc.—are remarkably vivid and effective. Throughout, honest intent is apparent. *Sincere, impressive.* M
The Man Who Returned to Life (Col.) L. Fairbanks, Paul Guilfoyle, John Howard	*Drama.* A young "Yankee," falsely accused of crime in southern town, flees to start new life, returns years later to clear enemy accused of his murder.	Rather harrowing in theme and told in routine fashion, but honestly presented and holding interest until end. *Unimportant but quite convincing.* M
North of the Klondike (Univ.) B. Crawford, Lon Chaney, Andy Devine	*Melodrama* of early 1900's, with Alaskan pioneers led by mining engineer against exploiters who try to drive them from homes.	A "western" in theme and method, but without cowboys. Some repulsive physical combat included for its own sake. *A routine entry, only for action fans.* M, Y
The Remarkable Andrew (Par.) Brian Donlevy, Ellen Drew, William Holden	*Fantasy,* in which Old Hickory returns in spirit with other dead heroes to help young city clerk in small town clear self of framed accusation and reveal graft of superiors.	A fresh idea and presented at proper leisurely pace. Does not quite come off, however: portions are unmotivated, and in the end the appearance of the ghosts has been entirely pointless, while Jackson's main contribution has been unlimited imbibing of whisky with no visible results. *Disappointing.* M

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: Babes on Broadway, Fantasia, The Great Commandment, The Great Dictator, Hay Foot, It Started with Eve, The Reluctant Dragon, Tanks a Million, The Vanishing Virginian.

For Mature Audience: All That Money Can Buy, Birth of the Blues, Blossoms in the Dust, Citizen Kane, The Girl from Leningrad, Here Comes Mr. Jordan, Hold Back the Dawn, How Green Was My Valley, H. M. Pulham, Esq., Ku Kan, Ladies in Retirement, The Little Foxes, Major Barbara, The Man Who Came to Dinner, The Men in Her Life, Mr. V., One Foot in Heaven, Remember the Day, Sergeant York, The Stars Look Down, Sullivan's Travels, Suspicion, Target for Tonight, To Be or Not To Be

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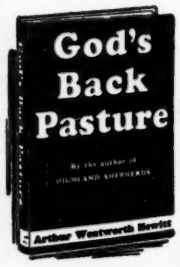

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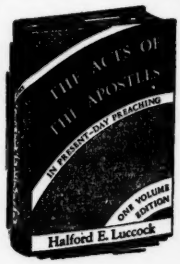

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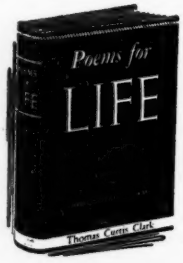

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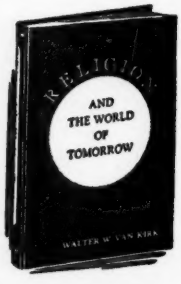

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